

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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PETITION FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

[EVERY person receiving a copy of this petition is earnestly desired to put it in immediate and thorough circulation for signatures, and return it signed, to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, Room 20, New York.]

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of—earnestly but respectfully request, that in any change or amendment of the Constitution you may propose, to extend or regulate Suffrage, there shall be no distinction made between men and women.

NAMES. | NAMES.

HON. HENRY WILSON.

We publish in another column an abstract of Henry Wilson's speeches on "Woman's Suffrage" before the Boston Convention on the 18th and 19th of November. His presence and speeches there were characteristically politic and disingenuous.

After carefully adjusting his Senatorial armor, so that by the glitter of his steel panoply all the world could see that he stood out in bold relief from the humble men and women whom he honored with his presence on that occasion; with whom he wished to be in no way identified; coming there, simply to learn what lay in the minds of his constituents; he skillfully and cautiously raised his visor just enough to reveal a benevolent smile, thus to let the women of New England know that his heart beat in union with theirs and that his battle-axe, now dealing such mighty blows for black male human nature, should be as skillfully wielded for Woman's Rights as soon as that question should be so popular that there would be no need of his services.

In opening, he said :

I believe that God made us and Christ died for us (we suppose he meant women as well as men), and that we are placed in this world as a preparation for a higher and better state, and that every human being on earth should have equal rights and privileges, and I should be ashamed to possess or exercise a right that I would not confer on every son and daughter of Adam.

After this beautiful and magnanimous exordium the Honorable Senator boastingly announces "that he had the courage" to vote Woman's Suffrage down in the Senate and should do so again, though it is some palliation to know that he was "ashamed" of his action. Now inasmuch as the Hon. gentleman declares that equality is the law under God's government, is it not his duty to base human legislation on that grand idea, and thus make earth as near like heaven as possible?

If Mr. Wilson, with his eyes wide open to the religious and political necessity of equality among "all the sons and daughters of Adam," deliberately votes it down in the Senate of the United States, his action in this world cannot

be said to be a very good preparation for that higher and better state to which he so solemnly refers.

As the Senator confesses that he has thus far, like Socrates, learned wisdom at the feet of woman, that he owes a debt of gratitude to Lydia Maria Child and Lucy Stone for his present clear views on human rights, seeing that with all his worldly greatness, he has ever held himself in a docile, teachable frame of mind, we appeal "to the thoughtful women of New England" that they now promptly finish the Senators education, for so long as he thus publicly stultifies his own declarations, it is rather an equivocal compliment to our sex, that his teachers in ethics have been women.

We have noticed that ever since Spurzheim, Gall, Combe, Walker, Fowler and Wells announced to the world that sons were like their mothers, and Bickle, Spencer and Mill have testified to the civilizing, elevating and purifying influence of women, that men of the most vacillating principles have been wont to boast of being moulded and guided in their political, religious and social opinions, by their mothers or the best women of their day. Now, we think public men should have a very honest and honorable record, before they throw the responsibility of their education on women.

But as what Mr. Wilson says of himself may be true of all our Senators and Congressmen, we urge American women to turn their thoughts at once to the study of science, philosophy, political economy, jurisprudence, morals and government, that they may not blush for their sons in high places, and that their rulers may be clearly taught that a nation's life cannot be secured by trick or legerdemain.

The Newtons of our day who should try to make apples stand in the air, or men walk on their heads, would not be more puerile in their experiments than are they who try to build a nation on the inequality of its citizens.

Inasmuch as Woman's Suffrage in the District of Columbia, is to be voted up or down in Congress, Mr. Wilson's private views are of no advantage to our cause so long as he publicly declares he will vote adversely. He cunningly tells the women of Massachusetts to press the question in their Legislature. Why not in the District where the negro question is settled? and Mr. Wilson could wield his influence to secure it?

The Convention answered the Senator's recommendation, by the following grand and comprehensive resolution, showing that they propose nothing short of national reconstruction on the broad basis of universal suffrage :

Resolved, That we invite the republican party to drop its watchword of "Manhood Suffrage" and the democratic party to abandon its motto of "A White Man's Government," and to unite in an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the suffrage to all men and women, as the inalienable birthright of every American citizen.

From this resolution it will appear that the New England Convention came up fully to our highest idea of CITIZEN SUFFRAGE—what the

Proprietor and Editors of "THE REVOLUTION" have pressed for the last four years — and with us have repudiated the narrow demand of republicans and abolitionists of "Woman's Suffrage." This has been the one point of difference between the radical friends of suffrage; some claiming that the negro should go first into the political kingdom, while we insisted that the hour had come for the enfranchisement of all.

Of all kinds of aristocracy, that of sex is the most hateful and unnatural, bringing discord as it does to every hearthstone, from the palace to the cabin, and putting those asunder whom God hath joined together.

A generation of discord and agitation; a four years bloody war; the sacrifice of a million of brave men, and a national debt that shall be visited upon our children to the third and fourth generation is too great a price merely to extend suffrage to 2,000,000 more men. England did as much without a ripple on the surface of her political affairs. The equal rights of all citizens before the law is the only fitting recompence for all the sufferings and sacrifices of the country.

But, as readers will see from Mr. Wilson's speech, he believes in "Woman's Suffrage," but he thinks it is not the time to make the demand.

Time! one of the old arguments used by politicians from the beginning; and with all of that class admirably served up by Sidney Smith in his "Noodle's oration," which we recommend to the Senator's prompt reconsideration. Women must wait until the calling and election of the negro are first made sure! The negro man! we should have said, for the negro woman, who drank the deepest, bitterest dregs of American slavery, is to have no hope or life in this first resurrection, for republicans and abolitionists alike tell us that emancipation without the ballot is mockery.

E. C. S.

HON. HENRY WILSON IN THE BOSTON CONVENTION.

From the New York World.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I need not say to you that I did not come here to-day to give advice or instruction to this convention—I certainly do not come here to take part in its deliberations, but for more than thirty years I believed it a duty which I owed to myself to attend the meetings held in this State of those who were advocating the cause of human rights. I am glad to say—and I say it gratefully—that I owe to those men, and to those women too, a debt of gratitude. I do not come here to give my adhesion to this movement, for more than a dozen years, had it depended upon me, I would have given the suffrage to the women of Massachusetts long since. (Cheers.) Some years ago, sir, I was accustomed to listen to the advocates of this cause when it was more unpopular than it is to-day. There is a noble lady in this hall who spoke to us to-day, whose voice I was wont to hear gratefully in other days—I mean Miss Lucy Stone (cheers)—and in those days I made up my mind that if this matter depended upon me, I would yield to the mothers, wives and daughters of this state what I claim for myself. (Cheers.) I believe that God made us, and that Christ died for us, and that we were placed in this world as a preparation for a higher and better state and that every human being on earth should have equal rights and privileges; and I should feel ashamed to possess or exercise a right that I would not confer on every son and daughter of Adam. (Cheers.) Reference has been made here to-day to a remark made by me in the Senate of the United States on this question.

HOW HE VOTED AGAINST THE WOMAN QUESTION.

When we were fighting under every disadvantage the terrible battle of the rights of the black men of the South: when we proposed to give to three-quarters of a million of blacks the right of suffrage, it was proposed by a bitter enemy of their rights to couple this woman

question with that issue for the purpose of defeating it. Many of our friends did not wish to be put in a false position; they were opposed to that amendment, but they said they would vote for it, although they knew it would not pass. I felt it my duty to have courage enough to vote it down, and I will do it again. Whenever it is thought to defeat human rights, by coupling it with this or any other question, I will oppose it. I am in favor of meeting that question on its merits, and fighting it out until every black man in the United States has a right to vote, and a right to be voted for. A gentleman, to-day, who has given his life to good words and deeds (Mr. Sewall) has said that the evils referred to in this Convention ought to be brought before the Legislature of this state, and the Legislature ought to right those wrongs. I know no man better qualified than that gentleman to go before the Legislature and present the fruits of the arguments of to-day, and I have the faith to believe that the fair-minded and just men of this state will right those wrongs, and that others will follow our example. It has been said—and said wisely—that the results recently attained in this country (and in my judgment have settled and settled forever the grand question of the equal rights and privileges of our countrymen), is a noble opening for this cause. Let me say to you that you have a great deal of work to do. Our people have been engaged in the work of saving this country, and of securing the rights of an emancipated race. That cause has arrested all the thought and attention of the people. The great body of our countrymen have never considered the great question you have met here to-day to discuss.

* * * * *

I was called out here yesterday to say a word to this convention, and in doing so I referred to my action in Congress on the subject which has been brought up here—a declaration made by me, in which I said that I should vote against uniting to the question of negro suffrage the suffrage of woman, because the first name was introduced to defeat the other. That I did so and would do so again. Now I wish to state distinctly the grounds of my action; the grounds which governed me then, and which will govern me in the coming session of Congress. This nation has been shaken to its profound depths, during the last four years, with the struggle to secure to the black men of the United States civil and political rights. Those who advocated the black man's cause have been compelled to struggle against previous sentiment, opinions, passions, prejudices, and mighty interests, and here to-day I express the opinion that for advocating the cause of the black man, who was emancipated, the republican party of the United States have lost a quarter of a million of voters. It was their duty to do it, and to give, not only to that race, but to all the citizens of the United States, equal rights and equal privileges. We have had during the past year a terrific struggle—the most severe contest in the history of the republic. No Presidential election in all our history has been so severely and so bitterly contested as this last. Never has this Nation been called upon to meet such mighty issues as have been settled in the November election. And let me say to you here and now that I believe the American people by their vote have settled this question, that all the citizens of the United States are to be equal in rights and in privileges. (Applause.) We hold to-day twenty-six Legislatures; there are eight Legislatures against us: there are three states that have not been reconstructed—Virginia, Mississippi and Texas. There are those among us who believe that we have the right under the Constitution to secure suffrage to the black man in every part of the country. Charles Sumner believes that. (Applause.) Yet there are many of the able and wise best men of the country who do not believe it—that deny it. For my part, under the fourteenth article of the amendments, I have no hesitation to vote for a law that shall give to the black man in every state the right to vote. (Applause.) But I feel that there is a large class of men among us who do not recognize this authority; and in my judgment we shall have to submit an amendment to the constitution of the United States securing this. I believe we have twenty-six Legislatures, if that question was submitted, who would vote for it. But we want the Legislatures of twenty-eight States to carry it. With twenty-six Legislatures already elected, most of whom can have this question submitted to them, these, with the three unreconstructed states can secure that authority. My opinion is, that within the six or eight months to come we can have the constitution of the United States so amended that the right of suffrage will be secured to these men all over the land. (Applause.) Having, therefore, nearly won the victory, having carried the enemy's defences, I don't want to imperil that cause by uniting anything on earth with it. (Applause.) There is

no need of uniting anything else with it. That cause I believe will be achieved, will soon be out of the way, and will open the way for the cause this convention has assembled here to advocate. This being my opinion of this cause, nothing on this earth can prevent me from voting to keep everything out of the way, until I have secured to the black man the right to vote and the right to be voted for. (Applause.) I will vote, as I said, in my place in the Senate for this cause whenever and wherever it shall be presented, except it is interposed to checkmate or defeat action upon the negro question or imperil it. My opinions, as I said yesterday, were made some years ago, and perhaps to no woman in America do I owe so much in making up my opinion as Miss Lucy Stone; just as my anti-slavery opinions I owed to a noble woman in this State, one of the noblest champions of the cause, Mrs. Child. I come here simply to say to the friends, or to repeat what was said by Mr. Sumner when he uttered the glorious truth that whenever the women of this country ask for the right of suffrage it will be given. We have no prejudices against our mothers, our wives and our sisters. We have not to meet the prejudices we had to meet when we fought the battles of the poor, despised and hated black man. There are as many men in Massachusetts who are ready to vote the ballot to women as there are women to ask for it. Show to these men that it is safe and best to give it to her, and I believe an overwhelming majority of them will be found in favor of it in a very brief space of time. Ask your Legislature to submit a constitutional amendment to the people of Massachusetts giving to the women of Massachusetts the right to vote, and it will soon be granted. Let the work go on everywhere, and a few years will bring forth victory to your cause if it is right; and if it is wrong this agitation on this subject will do no harm.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

CHAPTER XII.

ON NATIONAL EDUCATION.

AFTER the age of nine, girls and boys, intended for domestic employments, or mechanical trades, ought to be removed to other schools, and receive instruction, in some measure appropriated to the destination of each individual, the two sexes being still together in the morning; but in the afternoon, the girls should attend a school, where plain work, mantua-making, millinery, etc., would be their employment.

The young people of superior abilities, or fortune, might now be taught, in another school, the dead and living languages, the elements of science, and continue the study of history and politics, on a more extensive scale, which would not exclude polite literature. Girls and boys still together? I hear some readers ask. Yes. And I should not fear any other consequence than that some early attachment might take place; which, whilst it had the best effect on the moral character of the young people, might not perfectly agree with the views of the parents, for it will be a long time, I fear, before the world is so enlightened, that parents, only anxious to render their children virtuous, will let them choose companions for life themselves.

Besides, this would be a sure way to promote early marriages, and from early marriages the most salutary physical and moral effects naturally flow. What a different character does a married citizen assume from the selfish coxcomb, who lives but for himself, and who is often afraid to marry lest he should not be able to live in a certain style. Great emergencies excepted, which would rarely occur in a society of which equality was the basis, a man could only be prepared to discharge the duties of public life, by the habitual practice of those inferior ones which form the man.

In this plan of education, the constitution of boys would not be ruined by the early debauch

eries, which now make men so selfish, nor girls rendered weak or vain, by indolence and frivolous pursuits. But I presuppose that such a degree of equality should be established between the sexes as would shut out gallantry and coquetry, yet allow friendship and love to temper the heart for the discharge of higher duties.

These would be schools of morality—and the happiness of man, allowed to flow from the pure springs of duty and affection, what advances might not the human mind make? Society can only be happy and free in proportion as it is virtuous; but the present distinctions established in society corrode all private and blast all public virtue.

I have already inveighed against the custom of confining girls to their needle, and shutting them out from all political and civil employments; for by thus narrowing their minds they are rendered unfit to fulfil the peculiar duties which nature has assigned them.

Only employed about the little incidents of the day, they necessarily grow up cunning. My very soul has often sickened at observing the sly tricks practiced by women to gain some foolish thing on which their silly hearts were set. Not allowed to dispose of money, or call anything their own, they learn to turn the market penny; or, should a husband offend, by staying from home, or give rise to some emotions of jealousy—a new gown, or any pretty bauble, smooths Juno's angry brow.

But these *little*nesses would not degrade their character, if women were led to respect themselves; if political and moral subjects were opened to them; and I will venture to affirm, that this is the only way to make them properly attentive to their domestic duties. An active mind embraces the whole circle of its duties, and finds time enough for all. It is not, I assert, a bold attempt to emulate masculine virtues; it is not the enchantment of literary pursuits, or the steady investigation of scientific subjects, that leads women astray from duty. No, it is indolence and vanity—the love of pleasure and the love of sway, that will reign paramount in an empty mind. I say empty, emphatically, because the education which women now receive scarcely deserves the name. For the little knowledge they are led to acquire during the important years of youth, is merely relative to accomplishments, and accomplishments without a bottom, for unless the understanding be cultivated, superficial and monotonous is every grace. Like the charms of a made-up face, they only strike the senses in a crowd; but at home, wanting mind, they want variety. The consequence is obvious; in gay scenes of dissipation we meet the artificial mind and face, for those who fly from solitude dread, next to solitude, the domestic circle; not having it in their power to amuse or interest, they feel their own insignificance, or find nothing to amuse or interest themselves.

Besides, what can be more indecorous than a girl's *coming out* in the fashionable world? Which, in other words, is to bring to market a marriageable miss, whose person is taken from one public place to another, richly caparisoned. Yet, mixing in the giddy circle under restraint, these butterflies long to flutter at large, for the first affection of their souls is their own persons, to which their attention has been called with the most sedulous care, whilst they were preparing for that period that decides their fate for life. Instead of pursuing this idle routine, sighing for tasteless show, and heartless state, with what dignity would the youths of both sexes form at-

tachments in the schools that I have cursorily pointed out; in which, as life advanced, dancing, music, and drawing, might be admitted as relaxations, for at these schools young people of fortune ought to remain, more or less, till they are of age. Those, who were designed for particular professions, might attend, three or four mornings in the week, the schools appropriated for their immediate instruction.

I only drop these observations at present, as hints, rather indeed as an outline of the plan I mean than a digested one; but I must add, that I highly approve of one regulation mentioned in the pamphlet* already alluded to, that of making the children and youths independent of the masters respecting punishments. They should be tried by their peers, which would be an admirable method of fixing sound principles of justice in the mind, and might have the happiest effect on the temper, which is very early soured or irritated by tyranny, till it becomes peevishly cunning, or ferociously overbearing.

My imagination darts forward with benevolent fervor to greet these amiable and respectable groups, in spite of the sneering of cold hearts, who are at liberty to utter, with frigid self-importance, the damning epithet—romantic; the force of which I shall endeavor to blunt by repeating the words of an eloquent moralist. "I know not whether the allusions of a truly humane heart, whose zeal renders everything easy, is not preferable to that rough and repulsive reason, which always finds in indifference for the public good, the first obstacle to whatever would promote it."

I know that libertines will also exclaim, that woman would be unsexed by acquiring strength of body and mind; and that beauty, soft, bewitching beauty! would no longer adorn the daughters of men! I am of a very different opinion, for I think, that, on the contrary, we should then see dignified beauty, and true grace; to produce which, many powerful, physical and moral causes would concur. Not relaxed beauty, it is true, nor the graces of helplessness; but such as appears to make us respect the human body as a majestic pile, fit to receive a noble inhabitant, in the relics of antiquity.

I do not forget the popular opinion, that the Grecian statues were not modelled after nature. I mean, not according to the proportions of a particular man; but that beautiful limbs and features were selected from various bodies to form an harmonious whole. This might, in some degree, be true. The fine ideal picture of an exalted imagination might be superior to the materials which the painter found in nature, and thus it might with propriety be termed rather the model of mankind than of a man. It was not, however, the mechanical selection of limbs and features, but the ebullition of an heated fancy that burst forth; and the fine senses and enlarged understanding of the artist selected the solid matter, which he drew into this glowing focus.

I observed that it was not mechanical, because a whole was produced—a model of that grand simplicity, of those concurring energies, which arrest our attention and command our reverence. For only insipid, lifeless beauty is produced by a servile copy of even beautiful nature. Yet, independent of these observations, I believe that the human form must have been far more beautiful than it is at present, because extreme indolence, barbarous ligatures, and many causes, which forcibly act on it, in our luxurious

state of society, did not retard its expansion, or render it deformed. Exercise and cleanliness appear to be not only the surest means of preserving health, but of promoting beauty, the physical causes only considered; yet, this is not sufficient; moral ones must occur, or beauty will be merely of that rustic kind which blooms on the innocent, wholesome countenances of some country people, whose minds have not been exercised. To render the person perfect, physical and moral beauty ought to be attained at the same time; each lending and receiving force by the combination. Judgment must reside on the brow, affection and fancy beam in the eye, and humanity curve the cheek, or vain is the sparkling of the finest eye, or the elegantly turned finish of the fairest features; whilst in every motion that displays the active limbs and well-knit joints, grace and modesty should appear. But this fair assemblage is not to be brought together by chance; it is the reward of exertions met to support each other; for judgment can only be acquired by reflection, affection by the discharge of duties, and humanity by the exercise of compassion to every living creature.

Humanity to animals should be particularly inculcated as a part of national education, for it is not at present one of our national virtues. Tenderness for their humble dumb domestics, amongst the lower class, is oftener to be found in a savage than a civilized state. For civilization prevents that intercourse which creates affection in the rude hut or mud cabin, and leads uncultivated minds who are only depraved by the refinements which prevail in the society, where they are trodden under foot by the rich, to domineer over them, to revenge the insults that they are obliged to bear from their superiors.

This habitual cruelty is first caught at school, where it is one of the rare sports of the boys to torment the miserable brutes that fall in their way. The transition, as they grow up, from barbarity to brutes to domestic tyranny over wives, children, and servants is very easy. Justice, or even benevolence, will not be a powerful spring of action, unless it be extended to the whole creation; nay, I believe, that it may be delivered as an axiom, that those who can see pain, unmoved, will soon learn to inflict it.

The vulgar are swayed by present feelings, and the habits which they have accidentally acquired; but on partial feelings much dependence cannot be placed, though they be just; for when they are not invigorated by reflection, custom weakens them, till they are scarcely felt. The sympathies of our nature are strengthened by pondering cogitations, and deadened by thoughtless use. Macbeth's heart smote him more for one murder, the first, than for a hundred subsequent ones, which were necessary to back it. But, when I used the epithet, vulgar, I did not mean to confine my remark to the poor, for partial humanity, founded on present sensations or whim, is quite as conspicuous, if not more so, amongst the rich.

The lady who sheds tears for the bird starved in a snare, and execrates the devils in the shape of men, who goad to madness the poor ox, or whip the patient ass, tottering under a burden above its strength, will, nevertheless, keep her coachman and horses whole hours waiting for her, when the sharp frost bites, or the rain beats against the well-closed windows which do not admit a breath of air to tell her how roughly the wind blows without. And she who takes her dogs to bed, and nurses them with a parade of sensibility when sick, will suffer her babes

* The Bishop of Autun's.

to grow up crooked in a nursery. This illustration of my argument is drawn from a matter of fact. The woman whom I allude to was handsome, reckoned very handsome, by those who do not miss the mind when the face is plump and fair; but her understanding had not been led from female duties by literature, nor her innocence debauched by knowledge. No, she was quite feminine, according to the masculine acceptation of the word; and, so far from loving these spoiled brutes that filled the place which her children ought to have occupied, she only lisped out a pretty mixture of French and English nonsense, to please the men who flocked round her. The wife, mother, and human creature, were all swallowed up by the factitious character which an improper education, and the selfish vanity of beauty had produced.

I do not like to make a distinction without a difference, and I own that I have been as much disgusted by the fine lady who took her lap-dog to her bosom, instead of her child, as by the ferocity of a man, who, beating his horse, declared that he knew as well when he did wrong as a Christian.

This brood of folly shows how mistaken they are who, if they allow women to leave their harems, do not cultivate their understanding, in order to plant virtues in their hearts. For had they sense, they might acquire that domestic taste which would lead them to love with reasonable subordination their whole family, from the husband to the house-dog; nor would they ever insult humanity in the person of the most menial servant, by paying more attention to the comfort of a brute than to that of a fellow-creature.

My observations on national education are obviously hints; but I principally wish to enforce the necessity of educating the senses together to perfect both, and of making children sleep at home, that they may learn to love home; yet to make private support instead of smothering public affections, they should be sent to school to mix with a number of equals, for only by the jostlings of equality can we form a just opinion of ourselves.

(To be Continued.)

SECOND LETTER ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE

(Concluded.)

From Putnam's Monthly for December.

You will perceive that all my hope, thus far, has been predicated upon the mere fact that a sense of individual responsibility will beget thoughtfulness and comparison of views; but I wish to add, that women will bring into politics, it seems to me, a certain experience of their own which is fundamental in the art of governing, viz., a habit of calculating possibilities in the management of human beings. Every young mother starts, I suppose, with the determination that her children shall never do this and that thing which she has seen other children do, and that they shall certainly be made to walk in ways that do not seem to be followed very generally in the families of her acquaintance. But by-and-by she finds, to her dismay, that she has to deal, not so much with a little plastic boy, as with his grandfather before him, whose image he bears, and whose resolute will, not a whit abated by reason of skipping a whole generation, continually thwarts her most wise and motherly designs. And leaving all ancestors out of the question, she finds herself brought face to face,

day by day, with this everlasting problem, "How and how much shall I try to govern my children, and when may I safely let them alone, and leave nature and outside influences to work upon them?" Now, so far as I can see, this is the first question that a politician (I use the word, of course, in its primary and legitimate sense) must decide before he can take an intelligent part in the management of public affairs. National government, like that of the family, is a question of possibilities, of adaptation of means to ends, taking into account the inexorable law of free-agency and the selfish tendencies of our race.

Sometimes we see a father wise and thoughtful and full of expedients in the management of children and servants—more often a mother; and blessed is that family, indeed, where both parents are thus given to the well-being of their whole household. But a nation is made up of grown boys and girls, of masters, mistresses, and servants, of just such material, in short, as makes up a household; and I am unable to see how it can afford to commit its highest interests to the wisdom and faithfulness of either sex alone.

You will perceive, by this, that I am not in the least of the opinion that if women alone bore the responsibilities of government, there would be greater faithfulness or higher patriotism than now; but rather that each sex needs the stimulus of the other to the right performance of every duty; and that such duties are far less likely to become burdens when shared, both in preparation and performance, by one's nearest and most congenial friends.

You will notice, also, that I am far more impressed with a sense of a woman's duty, in this matter, than of her rights merely. One may patiently suffer injustice, up to a certain point, and only make steady gain in moral purity thereby. This is true of a people as well as of an individual; but a period always arrives at last wherein quiet submission becomes pusillanimity, and the duty of resistance, by pen or sword, becomes manifest. Years ago I began to give this subject the gravest consideration; but the fundamental and inherent difficulties of it, involving, as it does, more practically than theology itself perhaps, an investigation of the whole nature of man, of his relations to God, and of his own great future, have kept me silent; and, like Mary of old, I have simply pondered these things in my heart. I have even gone so far as to doubt the wisdom of those pioneer women of this country who, eighteen years ago (which was about the time when my convictions of right were settled, but those of duty yet in embryo,) began to speak and write upon the subject; and not long since I ventured to refer to Mr. Stuart Mill's admirable speech on "Suffrage for Woman," as evidence that the progress of the age, in the discussion of the principles of individual liberty, would have brought about the desired result without much intervention on the part of women themselves. But to my astonishment, I will confess, I have lately found that Mrs. Stuart Mill was the author of the first tract on this subject ever published in England, and that her husband acknowledges himself greatly indebted to her leadership in this matter, as in nearly every other effort of his life. I found, also, that she was moved to the writing of that most remarkable essay by the accounts which she received from this country, in the columns of the New York Tribune for October 29, 1850, of an organized effort here in favor of suffrage, irrespecti-

ve of sex. Until you have read this tract, which is republished by the Equal Rights Association of New York City, you can have but little idea of the truthfulness of Mr. Mill's tribute to his wife, in the dedication to her of his magnificent essay "On Liberty." Lest you should fail to see this dedication, let me copy it for you here:

To the beloved and deplored memory of her who was the inspirer, and, in part, the author of all that is best in my writings—the friend and wife, whose exalted sense of truth and right was my strongest incitement, and whose approbation was my chief reward—I dedicate this volume.

Like all that I have written, for many years, it belongs as much to her as to me; but the work as it stands has had, in a very insufficient degree, the inestimable advantage of her revision; some of the most important portions having been reserved for a more careful re-examination, which they are now destined never to receive.

Were I but capable of interpreting to the world one half the great thoughts and noble feelings which are buried in her grave, I should be the medium of a greater benefit to it than is ever likely to arise from any thing that I can write, unprompted and unassisted by her all but unrivaled wisdom.

A more comprehensive, logical, and unanswerable argument than hers was never made on any subject, so far as I know; and if I could only persuade all men and women to read it with anything like impartiality, I should consider all further argument unnecessary, and should only propose that we resolve ourselves, one and all, into a committee of ways and means, to devise expedients for carrying out this new gospel of individual responsibility. I trust you will read all these essays for yourself, and think and act for yourself; and, so far as these pioneer women of our country have enunciated great truths, let us thank them in our hearts and fraternize them in our lives, while at the same time, we admit the occasional mistaken and infelicitous methods by which they have sought to gain the attention of an unwilling public. All human progress, so far, has been marked by human imperfection in the great organizers of reform; and I greatly fear that the immediate future will fare no better than the past in this respect. Therefore it becomes us, one and all, to take by the hand every honest worker in the vineyard, whether we quite approve his system of culture or not.

The question of what is suitable education and work for woman, grows inevitably out of your first question, and my ideas on this are perhaps sufficiently indicated by my general course of thought. I can see no reason for closing any avenue of thought, study, or action to her, and every reason in the world why she should be not only permitted, but encouraged to address herself to any pursuit which commends itself to her judgement and taste. That every young woman should limit her expectation of happiness and her ideas of duty by her possible wifehood and motherhood, is as absurd as that a young man should limit himself after the same fashion, especially since the duties of a citizen, when far more faithfully performed than they now are by a majority of men, are neither engrossing nor exhaustive. At the same time, should she be called, in her happy maturity, to this blessed privilege, she will, by a previous life of independent thought and action, under the guidance of wise parents, perhaps, have prepared herself for the performance of those matronly duties, than which none require more wisdom and culture. There is no training, either mental, moral, or physical, which is good for a boy that is not, with some slight modifications, good for a girl also; and it is be-

cause girls, in accordance with a true spirit of progress, have been invited to a higher mental culture, while still under old-time limitations as to physical exercise, out-door sports, and games, that they seem in some cases to break down under hard study. So long as boys and girls, in our country-schools, are considered young enough to play and romp together in the open air, they are equally uninjured by studious application; it is only when the exactions of young ladyhood come in, that there is evidence of over-brainwork; and the comparative frequency of this is much exaggerated, I think. There are many district schools and high-schools of our cities where the average scholarship and the average health are as high among the girls as among the boys.

And as to laborious occupations: it seems desirable, certainly, that men should reserve these for themselves, and that women should be relieved of them, so far as they make excessive demand upon bone and muscle. Children, born of overworked mothers, are liable to be a dwarfed and puny race. I am inclined to think, however, that their chances are better than those of the children of inactive, dependent, indolent mothers, who have neither brain nor muscle to transmit to either son or daughter. The truth seems to be, that excessive labor, with either body or mind, is alike injurious to both man and woman; and herein lies the sting of that old curse. If sweat of the brow had been the best possible thing for primitive man, and pain and subjection the best thing for woman, those memorable words would never have been the sad ones they were in the day of their utterance. And now, the one thing that we may hope to do, each in our small way, is to abate that unfriendliness of selfishness, out of which has come this worldful of toil, privation, and suffering.

That men are to become less thoughtful toward women, less considerate of their real needs, and undemonstrative in ways of gallantry, when these have become more thoughtful of their country and active in labors on her behalf, or in behalf of any independent and honorable calling, is not a thing to be feared for a moment. It has frequently happened that men, whose tastes and habits and ways of thinking have drawn them toward each other, have fallen into most congenial friendships. This is true of women also; and nothing is more beautiful in life than such friendships, nor more tender than the manifestations flowing from them. How is it possible, then, that all gentle graces will depart from either sex, when each is at liberty to pursue its laborious work of self-development after the plan most agreeable to itself and most in harmony with the designs of nature? In my judgment, the day is close at hand when pure friendships between the sexes will be far more possible and frequent than they now are. This will be brought about in various ways, of which the equal enjoyment of political privileges will be one; but the chieftest will be the associating the sexes in all educational institutions, so that tastes and modes of thought and action will be similar, and on the broadest scale possible to human beings. There is no reason in nature why boys and girls should be trained together in the family and in primary schools up to a certain age, and ever after kept sedulously apart in colleges, seminaries, and scientific schools, and the like. They need each other just as truly in the one case as in the other; in fact, there is no period when young people so much need to be closely associated as

during that restless, curious, eager one, when the instincts of manhood and womanhood are first awakening, and young hearts are irresistibly drawn to each other by that most subtle and delicate passion which is altogether more primeval than any other man knows. Nothing seems to be more tending to barbarism than the cutting this fine cord of civilization, by which every boy and girl is instinctively drawn to the practice of those gentle amenities which have gone far to make mother-earth tolerable to us, ever since wrong-doing called forth from her bosom the thorns and thistles we all so much dread.

It is not necessary, of course, that homes for students of both sexes should always be provided within the college-buildings; though that experiment has been found to work admirably in several institutions of decided excellence in this country. In every university-town there will grow up private homes, where students can secure such comforts and luxuries as their respective means will warrant. And what a hopeful method of stimulating a young man to the maintenance of gentlemanly habits, if only his sister might accompany him to the lecture-room as a fellow-pupil, or should he uniformly meet there young ladies of intelligence and culture of his own social standing. What a blessed exchange, too, for old-time convivialities, the social gatherings over which these young ladies might preside, adding to them dignity, piety, and grace, and taking from them only those unwarrantable excesses which none should fear to lose.

It is to be considered, moreover, in favor of this plan, that no institution of large range and well endowed in every department, can be maintained except at great cost to the state or to private benefactors, or to both; and it would be inconvenient, not to say impossible, to provide such institutions in abundance for women alone. Those that have grown with the centuries are full of enriching memories and tender associations, such as daughters can appreciate and enjoy no less than sons; and why should *Alma Mater* close her doors to any hungry child? Surely, her heart is large enough for all!

You remember the testimony of Dr. D—, years ago, to the beneficial influence, upon the medical students of his class in Demonstrative Anatomy, of Miss B—, who, having been denied, everywhere else, opportunities of perfecting her medical education, was received by him to this most delicate branch, on his sole responsibility. I shall never forget his tribute to her, and to the young men, her fellow-students, who gave no sign, throughout the whole course, by jest or innuendo, that there was a woman in the room, and recognized her presence only by uncommon quietness and gentlemanly behavior. My own mind settled then upon the conclusion that there was no possible activity which did not belong to a woman as well as to a man, if she felt called to exercise it. The personal call is the one thing to be sure of, it seems to me, and results will take care of themselves.

As to the fact that low and uneducated women will be brought into power by the ballot, as well as the really noble ones, I can only say that they need the education of personal responsibility quite as much as any, and that they peculiarly need the protection in their own households, which such power of equal choice would furnish. No men come so near to being absolute domestic tyrants, in these days, as the ignorant foreigners with whom our land is filled, and who are the representatives of an old-time

civilization; and I can conceive no more effective way of crippling their power over their own families than by putting a ballot in the hands of mothers and daughters, so long as it has been irrevocably given to fathers and sons. In fact, I have a good deal of hope that some time, in the cheerful future, our election-days may come to have the appearance of our best holidays—our Sundays even; and that every man, knowing that he is probably to accompany to the polls or meet there his mother, wife, sister, or sweetheart in her best attire, will be driven to wash clean his own hands, and array himself in his best also, as is meet when all are going to the performance of a duty as sacred as any the world knows.

And here is just my conception of my own interest and duty in this matter. I have often felt that I might just as well have called upon my husband to profess my allegiance to my Saviour as to my country. His heart and mine are as truly one in this case as in the other, and my privilege to speak for myself is as dear to me in one case as in the other. In fact, so far as uniting with the members of a particular church in maintaining the worship of God in the earth, and celebrating the ordinances of religion are concerned, I have but little choice, comparatively, where my lot may be cast. Wherever faithful souls, believing that love to God and man is the spring of all goodness and happiness, seek to express their belief in ceremonial and worship, there can I join with all my heart, whether the form of church-government suit me or not; but there is one form of government for nations that seems to me adapted to their highest development; and I am deeply desirous to express my thought and feeling on this subject, not only through my husband, but with him, and long after he has gone to his rest, if so be I should outlive him. And if I had never been so fortunate as to meet with this man of my choice, your beloved father, I feel that it would have been still more a necessity to me to seal my devotion to my country by a life of faithful service in her behalf.

The idea that women are going to desert their babies and their homes, and rush for political offices, the moment they become responsible for a ballot, is simply preposterous. When the Great Father desired to express the infinite depths of His own faithfulness towards His human children, He found no better words than these, "Can a woman forget her sucking child?" and we may safely leave all her personal matters, as He has ever done, to her truly divine instincts. There is every reason to hope and believe that these will not only prevent her from an unconscious acceptance of offices whose duties she cannot perform without sacrificing higher duties at home, but that in case of her acceptance they will enable her to regulate both her actions and speech according to the true standard of womanly excellence. That this is not an unreasonable hope appears from the fact that, in the denomination of Friends, there has been always the most entire freedom as to public speaking among the women; and it frequently happens, I am told, that they chiefly make public exhortations, and deliver the words of the Spirit; yet who, among all women, have higher reputation for modesty, and gentleness of speech, and all womanly virtues, than these same Quaker ladies?

I cannot forbear noticing, too, the official responsibility put upon women, in that venerable church, which is, in some sort, the mother of us

all, and whose vitality has been the subject of wonder and speculation up to the present moment. No less a person than Lord Macaulay has made the suggestion that the Roman Church may have owed its success largely to the opportunities it has always opened to women, for honorable work and the attainment of authoritative positions. In his review of "Ranke's History of the Popes," occurs the following passage, which all Christian denominations would do well to ponder :

For female agency there is a place in her system. To devout women she assigns spiritual functions, dignities and magistracies. In our country, if a noble lady is moved by more than ordinary zeal for the propagation of religion, the chance is that, though she may disapprove of no one doctrine or ceremony of the Established Church, she will end by giving her name to a new schism.

If a pious and benevolent woman enters the cells of a prison, to pray with the most unhappy and degraded of her own sex, she does so without any authority from the Church. No line of action is traced out for her; and it is well if the Ordinary does not complain of her intrusion, and if the Bishop does not shake his head at such irregular benevolence. At Rome, the Countess of Huntington would have a place in the calendar as St. Selina, and Mrs. Fry would be foundress and first Superior of the Blessed Order of Sisters of the Jails.

In fact, Christian churches everywhere should, it seems to me, lead the way in this reform, as in all others, where the moral elevation of mankind is proposed. And were not authority and tradition arranged against it, they would hardly be so far behind their privileges in this matter as they are. Let us, then, hope for increased grace and knowledge; and just so far as they are able to make wise interpretations of Scripture, following the spirit rather than the letter of apostolic teaching, and entering fully into the mind of Christ in these matters, they will come to an increase of power and to the realization of that old promise given to the prophet Joel, in the days of his seership, so many years ago : "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions; and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit."

Is it not the duty, then, of the women of this day, as a part of their contribution to human progress, to maintain this doctrine of individual freedom and responsibility, even at some cost to their personal comfort? At first glance this may seem to imply a greater sacrifice of feeling than the case requires; but you will agree with me when I say that nothing could be much more trying to a woman of delicacy and sensibility than such assertions of herself as are commonly stigmatized as immodest, unfeminine, unnatural and the like; especially if she be the mother of sensitive children, on whom the recoil of rebuke may fall so heavily as to more than double her own pain. And does not this become the best of reasons why men should prepare the way for her in these matters, rather than call upon her to make a way for herself? Of course they must do this, so far as mere legislation is concerned, they only having the power; but in all departments of life, how easily can they invite her companionship, without incurring any loss or bringing any odium to themselves; whereas, she must suffer in various ways, if left to claim and actually enforce her rights and privileges, as a free, responsible being, owing, like man, allegiance to God and her own conscience alone. It is on this account that I would call upon man, rather than because he seems to me to be, *par excellence*, a wrong-

doer, or even the wilful cause of his own present acknowledged supremacy.

There are many important considerations affecting this subject practically, which I should be glad to present to you; but these must wait your leisure and mine. Meantime I subscribe myself, once more, Your affectionate

MOTHER.

IMPORTANT INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE.

A. J. GROVER, Esq., who furnishes the following interesting and valuable account of a long conversation with Judge Chase, is one of the most respectable and influential members of the bar of Illinois, formerly of Massachusetts. His statements cannot but command the deepest attention in every part of the country :

PETERSBURG, Va., Nov. 24th, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution:

I CAME from Washington to Acquia Creek on the same boat and occupied the same seat in the cars yesterday with Chief-Justice Chase. Introducing myself as an Attorney from Illinois, and a member of the bar of his court, I drew him into conversation by interrogations upon a variety of National questions. I found him very talkative, indeed, and willing to express his opinions upon most subjects which I introduced. In regard to impeachment, he said Johnson was probably impeachable, and when called to preside over the high court which was to try him, he hoped and expected that it would conduct itself in a becoming manner and with that dignity and judicial decorum which ought always, and had always heretofore, characterized great State trials; but that the senators occupied their usual seats instead of being seated on the right and left of the presiding Judge as the Supreme Judges, and as other senates have done, in the trial of impeachments. That senators did not conduct themselves like judges, but read newspapers, wrote letters, and railed at Johnson, as Johnson had railed at the senate. That they denounced Johnson as the greatest criminal of the age, during the trial, when that was the very question which they had sworn impartially to try. That sitting as a senate they made the rules by which to govern and conduct the trial, when all this should have been deferred until after the organization of the Court. That had the trial been conducted with due regard to formalities and usages, becoming to grave and reverend senators, sitting as judges in such a case, that whatever had been the judgment rendered, the moral effect would have been favorable. He said that articles might have been drawn under which Johnson would probably have been convicted. That the reason why such articles were not presented, was that certain men high in office and in the Republican party were as deep in the mud as Johnson was in the mire. That Mr. Stevens confessed that this was the fact.

In reply to a question, Mr. Chase said that he did not regard Gen. Butler as the *ablest* of the impeachment managers. That Butler had great intellectual power, but was a good deal of an Old-Bailey lawyer. That Wilson of Iowa, or Mr. Bingham were Butler's superiors as sound lawyers and statesmen. He said that he did not believe the stories about the personal dishonesty of Butler. That nothing affecting his personal integrity had ever come to his knowledge while acting as Secretary of the Treasury.

Speaking of Gen. Grant, Mr. Chase said—Now you have got your President, what are you going to do with him? I replied, better inquire "what he is going to do with us?" adding "Is he in sympathy with the republican party on negro suffrage?" Mr. Chase said, "I don't know any more about Gen. Grant than you do. I do not think he is personally in favor of negro suffrage, but I do not think he will oppose the wishes and acts of the party. He thought Gen. Grant was a man of great practical judgment in military matters. He did not agree with those who asserted that he was merely a *fortunate* man. Would take a rebel general for President if he had repented. Sudden conversions, he would admit, were to be distrusted, they might be unlike St. Paul's in every other respect. He preferred the financial part of the democratic platform to the republican platform in that respect. Said it would be repudiation to insist upon paying the 5-20s issued under the act of Feb., 1862, in greenbacks. I told him that I wrote the fourth resolution of the Republican platform, against repudiation. He said, that is a good resolution. He said he was op-

posed to consolidating the National indebtedness into a long loan. Was in favor of paying the debt as quickly as possible, in gold. The people will pay up the debt or repudiate it. If the bonds were to be changed, he was in favor of a short loan. Did not care whether the new bonds were exempt from taxation or not. It would make no real difference to the people. That taxation would necessarily increase the rate of interest if the bonds remained in the country. Taxation and low interest would drive the bonds out of the country, and thus drain off all the specie. Was in favor of a return to specie payment. No need of diminishing the volume or changing the character of the currency to effect this.

In reply to a question, Mr. Chase said he was glad that he was not nominated by the democrats on the platform which they adopted. He could never have accepted a platform opposed to the rights of the negro. He did not say that he would not like to be President. If he could have done so, would have been glad to have accepted the democratic nomination and stopped the crusade of the party against the negro. This would have been a good thing for the whole country. Being on his way to Richmond to hold court, I asked him when he expected to try Jeff. Davis. He replied that he did not know when Jeff. Davis would be tried. That the government had control of Jeff. Davis and was responsible for the delay. That he had always been ready to try him. He did not know why Davis had been allowed to go off to Europe.

I asked the Chief-Justice what he thought of the proposed amendment to the Constitution, to confer equal suffrage upon the citizens of all the states. He said he had nothing to do with it, but thought it would be as well to leave that matter with the states. I expressed the hope that the word *male* as well as the word *white* would be left out of the amendment if it should be submitted to the states for adoption. Mr. Chase said it could never pass Congress with the word *male* left out. He, personally, would be glad to see the experiment of Female Suffrage fairly tried. I remarked that he was generally supposed to be friendly to the Woman's Rights movement. He said he certainly had no objections to Female Suffrage. That all of his instincts were democratic.

Resuming the greenback question, I asked why we could not substitute greenbacks for the National Bank currency, and thus save the wastage, and the interest, on the bonds deposited by the banks? Mr. Chase replied that we must have banks to circulate the greenbacks, and that the National Bank currency was really greenbacks. That he tried hard, when the law was before the committee, to have the wastage accrue to the government, but could not get the committee to report the bill with such a provision. That he tried to secure the wastage to the government on the one dollar notes even, but failed in this. He said that so many of the members of Congress were interested in banking, that it was impossible to get what he wanted. That no modification of the law, curtailing the profits of the national bankers, could be passed for the same reason. That many of the republican leaders and office-holders were corrupt and unprincipled men. That he had little confidence in the republican party for this reason. The masses are honest, but the leaders are bad men. If the party succeeded in conferring suffrage upon the negro, it would probably be the last of its acts for the benefit of the country. The party had been in power so long, bad men largely controlled it. Little can be expected of it in future.

The Chief-Justice seems to be very cheerful and happy. Not at all sour or morose as he is represented to be by some of the republican papers. He appeared strong, and vigorous in health, and does not seem to have grown old any during the last twenty years. He reads the finest type without glasses, walks with a brisk and elastic step, jokes and laughs as heartily as when he was twenty years younger. I think he will be able to stand all political disappointments which may be in store for him, such as he underwent in July last, and that he is likely to live long enough to be a candidate for the Presidency several times yet, and that the country is much more likely to get several worse before one better President than Chief-Justice Chase would make.

A. J. GROVER.

A TOAST.—In celebrating Franklin's birthday at Buffalo, the printers had "a good time," and among others, the following toast was drank :

"Printers' Wives—May they always have plenty of SMALL CAPS for the heads of their little original articles."

No monument or inscription yet marks the grave of Gov. John A. Andrew, in Mt. Auburn, near Boston,

WHO IS SUPERIOR?

THERE are some persons who think that because there is a difference between man and woman, that one must be superior, that they cannot be equal. Can they not see that if perfect orange is divided in the middle the parts will be equal?

Man and woman make a perfect whole. In God they are one, in Heaven they are neither male nor female; on earth they are male and female for the purpose of propagating the species. But if a difference in organization and temperament makes one superior, who shall say which is the superior? "Man has beard," one says. But we have yet to learn that beard is expressive of sense and judgment; but if man has beard, then we can say that woman has none, and therefore being different from man, have we not as much reason to say that she is superior, as for man to preach superiority on the same principle? It is mind that makes a human being higher than the brute, and the purer the mind is, the nearer the being approaches the Divine. Because one person is taller than another it does not follow that he is superior. It is not the man with the greatest physical strength who has the most expanded and deepest mind. If man is thought superior to woman because he has more power in his body than she, then the stronger man, is always superior to the weaker, and the pugilist is king among men. It is generally said that woman is purer and better than man, therefore she must be nearer the Divine, and all must admit that the nearer we are like God the higher and more superior we are. But I am not trying to prove woman higher than man, although I feel that I am as able to do it as man is to prove himself higher than woman, but I wish to prove that sex does not or should not make inequality.

One of the best arguments in favor of the equality of the sexes is that man thinks he is superior—that he has no more reason and judgment than to think God would make a race of beings on so poor a principle. Let him philosophize with an unselfish disposition, and he will find it is wrong teaching conceit and selfishness that call man superior and woman inferior. But "the last shall be first, and the first last," and the boasters at last fall beneath the humble. If men are superior they should be provided with a higher sphere in after life; they should not associate with their inferiors in a perfect life. A master told his slave once that if he was obedient and faithful to him on earth, he would have a nice kitchen up in heaven. Perhaps that is what men think about women. If they are submissive and gentle here, they may have a chance in heaven to wait upon them and please them.

When women have equal rights, men will no longer preach superiority, and God grant that that glorious day may soon dawn.

JULIA CROUCH.

LETTER FROM GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN

A SHAKE HANDS WITH W. H. SYLVIS, ESQ., AND A CHEER FOR THE SONS OF LABOR.—THE WORKINGMAN'S PARTY, OR THE KNOW-SOMETHINGS OF 1872.—WHY SHOULD DIVORCE DISGRACE THE WOMAN AND NOT THE MAN?—WHY SHOULD THE YOUNG MOTHER HIRE A COW?—WEAK-MINDED HAVE STOPPED SNEERING AT STRONG-MINDED WOMEN, IN THE DAYS OF THE REVOLUTION.—WHY DO WE NOT PRAY TO OUR MOTHER, WHO ART IN HEAVEN?—AN IRISH MAID OF SARAGOSA READING "THE REVOLUTION."

DUBLIN, FOUR COURTS MARSHALSEA, {
Nov. 4, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": The agony is over. The mountain has brought forth. The Rads live. The Cops die. The Irish for once inside, showing they held the balance of power. Will Tammany again ignore *Civis Americanus Sum?* Men of labor read the note to Sylvis.

THREE CHEERS FOR THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION.

FOUR COURTS MARSHALSEA, Nov. 4, 1868.
DEAR WM. H. SYLVIS, ESQ., PRES. N. L. U.;

Give me your hand. It is time we were acquainted. Your address to the Workingmen and Working Women has the smack of honesty and genius. Count me in. Labor may now say to capital, "stand and deliver." Working men, the ballot is your bullet. Stewart, Vanderbilt and Astor have but one vote each, like you. Will you not use it to enslave, elevate, reform, your order?

Say to the demagogues, Stand aside. In the South, four hundred thousand slaveholders owned four millions of blacks. Presto. The chains were severed by a flash of lightning. Now, in the North, four hundred thousand bondholders, mostly Alabamian bondholders—Shylock bondholders—sixty-per-cent share bondholders own forty millions of whites. Presto. The Working man's party under your leadership will change all that. You are right. We have four years to make legislatures and remodel Congress. Charge on the enemy. Capital is organized. Let us organize labor. Here wealth fattens on the poor. The Dress Circle lives off the Pi. The descendant of a king's mistress eats up the labor of thousands. One child in fourteen is a bastard. One man in sixteen a pauper—and all the laborers slaves! We are going the same way, unless greenbacks become law. Nothing will save repudiation but greenbacks. We must take money by the throat—it has had its clutches on labor already too long. Gold is falling. This is a bad sign. It should be two hundred. When I signalled my Irish boys to go in for Grant, it was not because I loved Grant more, but Seymour less. Both Conventions swindled labor. Property must not crush labor. Ben Wade was right. Machinery has improved property, but enslaved labor. Virtue gives way to money. Vice flourishes with the rich. The poor have no cash to be dissolute. Who ever says, Rich but honest? Idleness is Purgatory. There the devils reign. Working men have no time to be idle—hence, virtue with them is bread. Organize, boys! Stand together! and capital must fork over. The Prometheus of labor has been too long chained on the rock of capital. The vulture of our national debt will eat out the nation's vitals unless labor insists upon greenbacks for the rich as well as for the poor. In China, custom bandages the feet. In America, conventionalisms bandage the head. Equal rights and equal pay will emancipate half a race. Now personal charms in woman, wealth in man make marriage in high life legal prostitution—masters and slaves—tyrants and dependents, are the terms for many a man and wife in the dress circle. Let us work like an American. We must drop that Trojan simile. New words must be coined. I have started for my Irish clientele a new party.

THE KNOW-SOMETHING PARTY.

The Irish are all laborers. And the Irish people can be no longer bought and sold. Tammany has, to-day, a terrible nightmare. 1860 and 1864 repeated in 1868. Our citizenship must be elevated. Horace H. Day, Sam Wilkinson and Henry Carey must belong to the "N. L. U." Wealth is a miser. Labor a prince. Ninety per cent of all capital is labor. Yet the laborer gets nothing to lay aside for the rainy day, while capital rolls along the avenue with lordly mien and aristocratic dissipation. I noticed when in Java, Borneo, Ceylon, Singapore and Calcutta that under the lofty aristocratic palms, in the tropical foliage, among the gorgeous flowers and luscious fruits—in all that luxuriant culture, the cobra, viper, the most dangerous reptiles, poisonous serpents and life-destroying insects swarmed and flourished! So under our Alabama, bondholder, exotic plutocracy, the wealthy have among them the counterparts of these citizens of the Indian world, making it dangerous for the poor to walk in the gardens of the rich. Give me your hand, Mr. Sylvis, and command my services for the sons of toil. God save the children of labor.

GEO. FRANCIS TRAIN.
WHY IS DIVORCE A DISGRACE TO THE WOMAN MORE THAN THE MAN?

Man always escapes. Woman never. He is always right. She wrong. The courts ruled by men usually decide against women. When women act on juries, when Portias act as counsel, fair play will be a feature in law. E. C. S. discourses most eloquently on this question. Why should a woman be harnessed to a brute. Latterly—marrying for money—and keeping a mistress, what does man care for a wife? Our divorce laws must be changed. Is there not a skeleton in every house? Do not we all put the best leg forward? When women vote there will be a wider scope to a woman's mind in marriage. Then she will marry for friendship and affection instead of a home and a carriage. Now she is entirely helpless. She is educated to do nothing. Idleness is destruction. Man not expecting it, is astonished to hear a woman talk sense.

WHY DO NOT WOMEN NURSE THEIR CHILDREN?
It is not fashionable. It destroys the form.

She must have some scrofulous wet-nurse to impregnate her babe with her filthy nature. She became a mother by accident, and by accident has no milk. In the last generation, all mothers had milk. Now, they must keep a woman cow. The wet nurse is the real mother, while the parent is only a looker on. The nurse rules the household. Her word is law. The mother is a slave. The more she loves the child, the more tyrannical is the nurse. So society destroys maternal affection, and fashion kills all love of offspring. Corsets break down the strength. Fashion rules the world and mothers have no milk.

THE PAPER BULLETS OF WEAK-MINDED MEN WHILE HARMLESSLY BY THE HEADS OF STRONG-MINDED WOMEN.

What a change is there, my countrymen! Editors no longer sneer when the woman fires back. All journals are more respectful. Had Frank Blair made a Woman's Suffrage speech at the Convention, instead of writing the Broad-head letter, 1868 would not have slept in the same trundlebed with 1864. McClellan and Seymour ride side by side in the Greenwood of the democratic party. Tilden and Belmont chief mourners. Next time, perhaps, you will take my lead, and win. One year of "REVOLUTION," nay, only nine months, and a child is born, and her name is Independence for one half the world. Who thinks of making bricks with straw in this generation of the world, but the Bourbons of Spain and Tammany? "No Thoroughfare" will no longer prevent women from entering the lists of all kinds of progress. "No extra risk on woman," reads the insurance policy. Why should women at balls and parties be put on a par with children and negroes, by admitting them at *half price*?

WHY SHOULD WE NOT PRAY TO OUR MOTHER WHO ART IN HEAVEN, AS WELL AS TO OUR FATHER?

Our mother educates us. Rears us to boyhood. Our father seldom sees us. Our mother is always with us till we are ten years old. Our mother teaches us to pray—to say, "Now I lay me down to sleep," "Lord, what if I this night should die?" and "Our Father, who art in Heaven." Why not pray to our mother as well? The Virgin Mary saved the Catholic Church. Yet the Pope is down on woman! Celibacy, carried to its length, would stop the Church and end the world in one century! Let us swear by our mother. Let us say our Mother, who art in Heaven. Our mother would not "lead us into temptation." How odd that we should pray to our Father not to lead us into temptation? The Catholics pray to our Mother. My religion, also, opens the door to both sexes. If created in His image, can we not compare the earthly with the spiritual Father?

Sincerely, GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

THEODORE PARKER AS A PRACTICAL MAN.—"The fine arts do not interest me," said Theodore Parker, "so much as the coarse arts, which feed, clothe, house and comfort a people. I should rather be a great man as Franklin, than a Michael Angelo—nay, if I had a son I should rather see him a mechanic, who organized use like the late George Stephenson, in England, than a great painter like Rubens, who only copied beauty. In short, I take more interest in a cattle show, and feel more sympathy with the Pope's bull than his *bullock*. Men talk to me about the absence of art in America. You remember the stuff that M—— used to twaddle forth upon that theme, and what transcendental nonsense got delivered from gawky girls and long-haired young men. I tell them we have cattle-shows and mechanics' fairs, and ploughs and harrows, and saw-mills, sewing-machines and reaping-machines, threshing-machines, and planing-machines. There is not a saw-mill in Rome, I doubt if there is one in the Pontifical States."

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER PILLSBURY,

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 3, 1868.

THE PRESENT DANGER.

SAVE me from my friends, is often a most pertinent prayer. It is particularly so in the present crisis of our national affairs. The danger is not from the South. It is not from the democratic party; nor from conservative republicans. It is not from a deranged and dilapidated currency. It is not from whiskey frauds, railroad rings, Indian bureau, or public land speculations, peculations and all abominations therewith connected, though these abound, omnipresent, and work their ruinous results incessant as gravitation itself. Nor is it any longer from Andrew Johnson. That "copperhead," as men have called him, is disarmed of fang and sting. But yet the perils of the present moment, far exceed any in the past.

For thirty years the eye and the heart of the whole nation were with the abolitionists—were the abolitionists. Excepting them, the whole nation, state, church, pulpit, people were stone blind. The abolitionists alone had sight. They alone had the spirit of prophecy. They alone believed in God, in justice, in humanity. They alone proclaimed the true gospel. The government was a deliberate conspiracy against liberty, the church was a mockery of God and his authority. The pulpit was exactly described by the ancient Hebrew seer—"the watchmen are blind; they are dumb dogs; they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber." The exceptions were too insignificant in numbers and influence to make any difference in the final result. There were two gospels; the gospel of freedom and righteousness by the prophet Garrison, and the gospel of slavery and oppression by the so-called American church, numbering in the thirty years anti-slavery war, about three million baptized communicants and forty thousand ordained priests. The former of these ministries declared our southern slave system a sin against God, and a crime against humanity, that should be immediately repented of and put away, or it would surely work the ruin of the nation under the divine law and government. The other professed to regard slavery as a sacred institution, originating in heaven itself, practiced by patriarchs, approved by prophets, and hallowed by the whole New Testament dispensation; the Fugitive Slave law, even, being sanctified by the example of the apostle to the Gentiles sending back a new convert to his old master from whom it was held he had unlawfully escaped. Garrison and all his most faithful adherents were branded and blasted as infidels, by the church and pulpit from Maine to Mexico. But as the lightning came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice of Israel's prophet, and confounded the priests of Baal and their foul idolatries, so the fires kindling at Fort Sumter and blazing and devouring all over the domain of slavery, melting off every chain, liberating every captive, almost in a day, solved forever the problem as to which of the two gospels was from above, and which from the pit. So is it ever. Truth is

never without faithful witnesses. And they are ever what they were once named on high authority, "*the light of the world*." They are the eye, the moral vision of mankind. They are not the world any more than the eye is the body. They may bear about the same proportion to the world materially, as does the eye to the body. And as the body without the eye is without sight, so is any people or nation when the moral and spiritual vision is darkened or put out. "And if the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness," was, indeed, well spoken.

Generation after generation, the American people walked in the light of their consecrated priesthood as to the character of their slave system; blind leaders of the blind, till they stumbled together into a common ditch, where they are floundering even unto this day.

That church was the accepted light of the world to all but the abolitionists. The nation walked in its light. It supposed, for the church told it so, that slavery was ordained and approved of God, that a debauched patriarch cursed one of his sons for smiling at his shame and entailed slavery thereby on half the human race forever and ever. This the church taught, this the world believed, and made laws and governments accordingly. The light that was in that church was, indeed, darkness. And how great that darkness! Great in the millions misled! Great in the millions of the victims enslaved! Great in the number, magnitude and long continuance of the woes they endured, and great in the slaughter and desolation of the war sent for their deliverance!

There, then, was the danger. It was not in the democratic party. It was not in the whig party; nor in any political party. It was in that which claimed to be, and was acknowledged to be *the light of the world*.

The Fugitive Slave law of 1850 was the final filling up of the cup of our more than Babylonian abomination. It was the last vial of slavery's wrath poured out not on the head of the slave alone, but over the entire north, more terrible in its transforming power than the sacraments of Circe, converting every northern man into a blood-hound to hunt and howl on the track of the fugitive slave as he sped to Canada to find a home and freedom beneath the thrones and diadems of monarchy, which were denied him in the boasted land of Washington, Democracy and the Declaration of Independence!

But even this most frightful enactment, the pulpits of New England, of Boston, of Bunker Hill, the holy mount of Andover hastened to hallow, in the name of religion distilled from the Testaments, both old and new.

The satanic utterances on the seventh of March (1850) of Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, gave the nation that law, more memorable for its atrocity than the blood-written mandates of the Grecian tyrant. Universal humanity was shocked at its most diabolical defiance of all justice, all right. But Professor Stuart, of Andover Theological Institution, the most eminent biblical scholar of his time, hastened with a huge pamphlet entitled "Conscience and the Constitution," to hush the storm and to cry in the name of his God, "Let us have peace!"

Dr. Sharp, Dr. Adams, Dr. Rogers, all of Boston, echoed the cry from their several pulpits in solemn sermon, "Let us have peace." Indeed, nearly every Doctor of divinity in the land swelled the horrible chorus, "Let us have peace!" Let there be no strife between north

and south about these accursed sons of a drunken patriarch; God willed them to be slaves three thousand years ago, and perhaps for three hundred thousand years hence, and why should we be found fighting against God? And the people answered, amen and amen, and forthwith made Franklin Pierce their chief ruler by the largest vote ever then cast since human history began.

But did that law and its religious sanctification and observance bring peace? Two more democratic administrations followed, and then came the lamented President Lincoln. But instead of recommending the immediate annihilation and utter extermination of the vile enactment, he set himself at once to have it made more expressly constitutional than before, and forever irrevocable by any act or decree of the government. But did that bring peace? In that one dire proposal of the new republican President, every well-schooled abolitionist saw the southern Satan falling, as in the vision of the Son of Man, like lightning from heaven. But what seer or prophet in that hour, dared number the myriads of stars, of our bright and beautiful stars, he would drag down with him in his fall? The graves hieroglyphed all over the south, tell that, in tones to be heard and remembered, evermore!

"Thus saith the Lord: Let not your prophets and your diviners deceive you, for they prophesy falsely unto you in my name. I have not sent them saith the Lord." So, too, spoke the abolitionists to this nation, for more than a quarter of a century. But the people would not hear. They followed the false prophets unto destruction.

Our danger is no less now than before. It is even greater than ever before. And it arises from precisely the same source. The light that is in the nation is still darkness.

True it reluctantly admits now that the abolitionists were the true prophets and estimated rightly the crimes, cruelties and consequences of slavery. The people have paid Mr. Garrison a tribute of fifty thousand dollars (well earned too in their behalf) for his life long labors; but worth more than fifty millions in the confession that he was right and they wrong. They have also taken Mr. Phillips into their confidence, esteem and admiration, a compliment worth more to him than mines of gold which he needs not.

But the tests of virtue in one period are never those of another. It is no less an outrage now to rob woman of her just rights, than it was forty years ago to plunder the slave of his. And here Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips are both as blind as the church and pulpit were before. The republican party has come up to them, but God has lifted new light on the world which they perceive not. For it is proposed in the councils of republicanism to reconstruct the government on another basis of compromise. The best of the party say woman must wait the negro's hour, though her right is as sure and sacred as his. Mr. Phillips says "now is the negro's hour." And in this crucifixion of woman, Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips are at agreement. So, too, are large numbers of the most popular and well known of their former and present coadjutors. Only by the peerless eloquence, devotion and power of Lucy Stone was the late Woman's Suffrage Convention in Boston prevented from absurdly, preposterously committing itself to that principle; or rather that want of all principle. It did elect as president of the new Association, one holding that strange position, and

who confessed that she had not even believed in woman's right of suffrage at all, until almost up to the hour of the holding of the Convention. And with these stand the best of the politicians of all parties, the press, the people, *the colored people even*, and of course the pulpit and the church, all impatient for reconstruction on a policy that disfranchises and degrades one-half the nation, and that the most moral, virtuous, and intelligent too, on account of its sex. And under such a policy the nation dares pray, let us have peace!

An eight years war and revolution made the *white male* citizen free. The Declaration of Independence itself was made to mean no more. Another war, the most disastrous and bloody in history, has added the *black male* to the proud lists of sovereignty with the white. Is it ever to be in blood that the triumphs of freedom and justice must be secured? Men boastfully tell women, "If you vote, you must fight." Do they not mean rather that if they vote, they must fight first with them for the right to vote? "Cut your way to the ballot-box through us, as we men did through British tyranny, and then your right will no longer be questioned." Is not that what they mean?

All these multitudes rebuke the democracy, and not unjustly, for continuing slavery and seeking to extend it. But their own course in regard to woman is no less cruel, no less criminal. In the present blaze of light and knowledge on human nature, its needs and rights, it is ten thousand times more unjustifiable.

Before the war of the last seven years began, the abolitionists were the light of the land. But in its first blaze and thunder, most of them were blinded and deafened, and threw off the armor which for thirty years had made them invincible; thereby adding dreary years to the length of the war, and mints of money to its cost; with incalculable griefs, woes and rivers of unneeded blood. They blindly thought the American army was commissioned to do their work, and sent their sons even while the government was declaring "the war would not change the status of a single human being," and Col. Benjamin F. Butler, and Gen. McClellan were pledged to the slaveholders to use those sons, if needed, to suppress insurrection that might arise among the slaves.

Now most of those same abolitionists, under the leadership of Garrison, Phillips, Frederick Douglass and others, have proclaimed their faith in the republican party as henceforth the Shiloh of national salvation. General Grant says, "let us have peace," and the people cry peace, peace, from ocean to ocean!

But what kind of peace can be purchased at such a price? Over woman's prostrate form and rights the colored man must march to liberty. "This is the negro's hour." Woman must not urge her equal claim, lest it prejudice the negro's cause; for "this is the negro's hour!" The fable of the goat and the fox was never more pertinent than here.

The peace purchased at such a cost, is indeed no peace. It will be a curse to all womankind, and a greater curse to men who thus buy it. In the old Lutheran conflict there were two schools of Protestants. One claimed that "peaceful error was better than boisterous truth." But the nobler class responded, "peace if possible, but truth, if the heavens fall."

The foremost political reformers, Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips among, or at the head of them, hold that the party in power has saved

the country, and is entitled to public respect and gratitude. If colored male suffrage be secured, though paid for in woman's still protracted sorrow, it is a triumph over which we are to be glad and keep this day a thanksgiving to God!

In the Mexican war the whigs justified themselves in fighting its battles on the ground of standing by their country. "Our country, right or wrong," was one sentiment drank at a fourth of July dinner. "Our Union, however bounded," was another. On such morality was Texas stolen from Mexico, by and for the slaveholders, the north aiding and abetting, annexed to the Union, and paid for afterwards in millions of money and multitudes of men. But how many, many times, in those fearful days, did the walls of old Faneuil Hall shudder at the angelic eloquence of Phillips and of Garrison, as they boldly rebuked such doctrines of devils, in the face of their guilty and oppressive nation! Alas, where are their mighty voices in this not less fearful hour?

For even colored male suffrage is not secured by treason to principle, any more than slavery was abolished when the abolitionists postponed their anniversaries, discontinued their newspapers, withdrew their agents from the field and went or sent their sons to fight for a Union with slaveholders, to whom all old guarantees for slavery were assured, and new and more terrible ones promised, would they but lay down their arms and return to their allegiance. Grant's largest majorities are some of them in states that hate negro suffrage at home with inextinguishable hatred. Missouri gave him a large majority, but voted male colored suffrage down by nearly twenty-five thousand. Kansas, Colorado, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Michigan have since the last election of President Lincoln voted down negro suffrage with a unanimity that would be wondrous in any other country, and, with one or two exceptions, would do the same to-morrow.

Gen. Grant, who was the candidate of one party only to keep him from the other, has most unequivocally signified his personal hostility to the measure. He would accept it were it the will of the people, or, as he wrote Judge Pierrepont, would force it on the South, as was emancipation, should it in like manner become a necessity.

But a vast majority of the people, even of republicans, do not desire colored suffrage. The Chicago platform conceded that question to the states. Judge Chase holds it as belonging to the states, though personally in favor of the very largest liberty. And the states, with a few exceptions, behold how few, north as well as west and south, have, by overwhelming majorities, decreed against it to any but the white male citizen!

Here is the national peril. The nation is blind. Its light is darkness. In the midnoon light of this nineteenth century it stumbles as it did in the darkest, dreariest night of slavery. "Our country, right or wrong!" "Our Union, however bounded!" "The war will change the status of no human being." "This is the negro's hour." "To press the claim of woman now will prejudice the cause and claim of the colored man." Colored male suffrage, right or wrong! Colored male suffrage forced on the south where the black is ignorant, denied in the north where he is, in intelligence and virtue, too, the peer of the white. "Let us have peace." Can we have it thus? Ought we to have it thus? As righteously could Mr. Lincoln have made

peace with the rebellion by making slavery perpetual, and the Fugitive Slave law "IRREVOCABLE" as he himself proposed!

It is not the church and pulpit now as formerly that are the accepted and recognized conservators of the public conscience, the guardians of the national morality. It is those abolitionists who, for more than thirty years, saw, foretold and warned the nation of the impending danger from slavery and its abominations, and who, in the fear of God, the love of justice and of man, endeavored to keep their own conscience void of offence, though at the cost of reputation, right of suffrage, political, social and religious friendships and affiliations, property and life. These now have become compromisers of justice and right as regards the cause of woman, and would add two millions of colored voters to the power that already opposes her. Will this bring peace? "First pure, then peaceable," was long ago established as the order of nature, of God. Be justice done though the heavens fall. Wendell Phillips once said, "God did not send me into the world to abolish slavery, but to work justice and righteousness; in a word, to do my duty." Many remember it well. It was an inspiration of the Holy Ghost. But neither did God send him, or send any of us, to establish colored suffrage, but to do justice and right: to trample down all compromise of principle; all injustice, whether black men or all women be the victims: to demand equal and untrammeled freedom for all men and all women, though to establish it should melt down the skies; should burn up the earth, and dry up all the seas. Unless this be done faithfully, fervently, our danger is even now, infinite. Whoso readeth let him understand.

P. P.

BARBAROUS PUNISHMENTS.

THE WHIPPING-POST AND THE PILLOW.

NEWCASTLE, Del., Nov. 21, 1868.

TO-DAY in the jail yard seven persons, convicted of various petty offences, were tied to the post and whipped. One of these was a man seventy years of age, who received twenty lashes upon his bare back. He cried bitterly during the whole ordeal. Two boys, about twelve years of age, were flogged with twenty lashes each for petty offences. One man was placed in the pillory until he was totally helpless from the cold, and was then whipped with twenty lashes. Each of the criminals, after receiving the barbarous punishment, was returned to prison to remain there six months, after which they will also have to wear convicts' dress in public for another half year.

A noble woman sends us the above, and asks, can anything be done to end such barbarity?

Yes! place the ballot in the hand of woman. Never until the mother soul is represented in our legislation will war, violence, and fiendish punishments like these give place to love, mercy, justice, and peace.

Men talk of reconstruction on the basis of "negro suffrage," while multitudes of facts on all sides like the above show that we need to reconstruct the very foundations of society and teach the nation the sacredness of all human rights. We call on the women of Delaware to draw up a petition at once to their legislature to pass a law forbidding these cruelties, on feeble old men and trembling children. If there is one woman in that state that has a soul to feel, let her make herself heard at the Capitol. It is a disgrace to every man and woman in Delaware that such atrocities are permitted. Where's Senator James A. Bayard? He is generally loud in his denunciations of "Radical rule." What can he say of things like these in a demo-

ocratic state? Are the men who do this diabolical work, republicans or democrats?

We have a number of readers in Delaware, and we ask them to send us further particulars of the jails and prisons of the chivalry.

INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE.

WORCESTER COUNTY FREE INSTITUTE OF INDUSTRIAL SCIENCE.

WORCESTER, Mass., is the seat of what is to be one of the most important educational institutions in the country. The dedication was celebrated on the 11th inst. The object is to furnish a training school for young men of moderate means, or even without means, in which they can receive an education, not only in the branches usually taught in high schools and academies, but combining with these a practical education in the mechanical and scientific trades. Book-learning is combined with trade-learning, and the student receives the benefit of an ordinary school, and at the same time a thorough knowledge in the scientific part of the trade or profession he proposes to follow, inculcated by the practical application from day to day in the machine-shop or the laboratory of scientific facts obtained from books or lectures. The ultimate aim of the institute is the elevation of the mechanic, by giving him thorough and complete scientific knowledge, on which he may base his future work.

The Worcester County institute had its foundation in the gift of the sum of \$100,000 by John Boynton, of Templeton, Mass. In the instrument of donation Mr. Boynton says:

The aim of this school shall ever be the instruction of youth in those branches of education not usually taught in the public schools, which are essential, and best adapted to train the young for practical life; and especially, that such as are intending to be mechanics, or manufacturers, or farmers, may attain an understanding of the principles of science applicable to their pursuits, which will qualify them in the best manner for an intelligent and successful prosecution of their business; and that such as intend to devote themselves to any of the branches of mercantile business, shall in like manner be instructed in those parts of learning most serviceable to them; and that such as design to become teachers of common schools, or schools of like character as our common schools, may be in the best manner fitted for their calling; and the various schemes of study and courses of instruction shall always be in accordance with this fundamental design, so as thereby to meet a want which our public schools have hitherto but inadequately supplied.....All sectarianism and all control of one religious sect over another is strictly prohibited, the Bible in the authorized version shall be in daily use, and such devotional exercises as consist with a due sense of our dependence upon the Divine blessing.

Other wealthy persons have already nearly or quite doubled the donation of Mr. Boynton. As is usual, the institution is for young men only, but the trustees have already appointed one lady, Miss Harriet Goodrich, on the board of professors.

CHICAGO LEGAL NEWS.—An article from and upon this excellent publication is crowded out. It is possible to say, however, that, as a Law Reporter, Expositor and History also, it is learned, able, well printed, and every way worthy the most extensive patronage. And conducted too by a woman, it is up to all the demands of the hour in woman's behalf. It is published every Saturday by Mrs. Myra Bradwell, at two dollars a year in advance.

WORKING WOMEN'S MEETING.—The next meeting of the Association will be held on Monday evening next, Dec. 7th, at half past seven, at Room 24, Cooper Institute.

A "LOST ART" TO BE RESTORED.—The *Chicagoan* seals the fact that the Working Woman's Association is at last fairly organized with Miss Anthony at its head. Besides this, it says also, we may notice that the Women's Medical College propose to establish a corps of medical Sisters of Charity, who are to be carefully trained as nurses to take care of those too poor to pay for regular attendance. But, thinks the *Chicagoan* farther, unlimited must be the approbation and satisfaction of the lords of creation on learning that one woman of expansive benevolence actually proposes to open in New York a school for the education of young women in 'the lost art of bread-making,' as it has been aptly termed, and that certain of the fair daughters of fashion, the belles of New York society, have taken it into their little heads to avail themselves of the opportunity for the instruction that will fit them for the least disputed segment of their sphere. Can it be possible that American ladies are going to learn how to cook?" Heaven, in compassion, send that this last may be a success! Next in value to the gift of grain itself, would be wit and wisdom to properly use it.

A KANSAS LIQUOR LAW.—The women of Kansas have one hold on the liquor-sellers which is half a ballot: The Lawrence *Tribune* has the following from a wife, which is a strictly legal document:

To whom it may concern:

I hereby give notice that the sale of spirituous liquors to Homer Hays is contrary to my wishes, and that I shall prosecute according to law any person who disregards this notice.

CATHERINE HAYS.

By the law of Kansas a woman can prosecute any liquor-seller who sells to her lord and master. And the Lawrence *Tribune* asks, *"Will "THE REVOLUTION" agitate for such a law in New York?"*

Wait a little till woman gets the ballot. "THE REVOLUTION" has no time to waste on half-way measures of questionable utility, even could they be adopted.

PARIS WORKING WOMEN.—An official report lately published in Paris gives some interesting facts relative to the price of female labor in that city. The number of women earning wages in Paris is 103,310. They are divided into three sections. The first consist of 17,203 women, who get from 50 centimes to one franc, 25 centimes a day; the second of 88,340, who earn from 1 franc 50 centimes to 4 francs a day, and the third of 767 only. In the first section there are a great many girls under sixteen years of age, most of whom get, beside their wages, lodging, food and washing free. The representatives of the female working class in Paris are, therefore, the 88,340 women of the second section. Of these 24,810 earn two francs a day (forty cents.), and 39,164 more than two francs a day, and their average daily wages 2 francs 14 centimes.

A KENTUCKY VOICE.—A private letter to Miss Anthony from Glendale, Ky., says:

We organized here an association of about twenty members the first of October, and now have some fifty members. From the increase and the excitement over the matter generally, we hope we will soon have the whole of Hardin County, and after a year, the whole of the state of Kentucky enlisted on the side of *Woman's Rights*.

Please send us "THE REVOLUTION" as soon as possible the encouragement you can.

A SENSIBLE VIEW.—The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* is a model provincial newspaper in most respects. East of the Connecticut, clear to Eastport, Maine, it has no superior in ability and general good management. It is pleasant, therefore, to find it growing more and more favorable to Woman's Suffrage and education. Last week it said on that subject:

The day has gone by for treating these questions with ridicule or with silent contempt. Woman as a worker, woman as a voter, who shall say that there are anywhere more serious topics than these, or that any are more pressing for consideration? We have admitted to the ranks of factory and shop labor during the past ten years, an immense number of women who had before been devoted to domestic labor alone—and we are continually adding to that number. In the more intellectual kinds of work, such as teaching, clerical service, editing, writing, lecturing—the change has been equally marked. In trade the change is less perceptible, but still important; and its effects are showing themselves in all directions. There is a greater activity in the minds of women, a greater diversity in their condition, their aspirations, their powers—they are drawn more directly into the whirl of busy life, and their interests are wider and less purely domestic than formerly. These are good results, and there are plenty of the other sort. There is more unrest and disappointment, more domestic unhappiness, more freedom of morals, more feminine vice and crime. Marriage is held in less esteem, while the respect for virginity is by no means increased—there are more divorces, more seductions, more of the "social evil."

Foolish persons, fixing their attention upon a few of these results, are shocked and frightened, and suppose that the world is growing worse; on the contrary, it is only pursuing its development. And one stage in that development is to be the admission of women to an equal share with men in the government of the country. Women are going to vote in Massachusetts before many years; they are going to vote in some other states before they do here, and all over the country before the end of the century. That is our prediction, and there will not be half so many to pooh-pooh it as there would have been ten years ago if we had prophesied that negroes would elect members of Congress in South Carolina in the year 1868.

FARMERS' WIVES.—George Wm. Curtis says:

The road to wealth and ease that lies through a farm, seems to those who are not actually obliged to journey that way, like Jordan, a hard road to travel. While this is true of the farmer, how is it with the farmer's wife, for the position and character of woman is always the measure of civilization? In the oldest English book upon farming, Judge Fitz Herbert says: "It is the wife's occupation to winnow all manner of corn, to make malt, to wash and wring, to make hay, to shear corn, and in time of need to help her husband fill the muck-wain (or dung-carts), to drive the plow, to load corn, hay and such other; and to go or ride to the market to sell butter, cheese, milk, eggs, chickens, capons, hens, pigs, geese, and all manner of corn." The good judge forgets to mention one other most important occupation of the wife, which she is expected to add to all these; and that is to bear and rear children; a duty which, in New England, she faithfully performs.

The present farmer's wife is not quite so badly off, but farther amelioration is greatly needed.

WOMAN AND THE GOOD TEMPLARS.—The *Temperance Patriot* asks:

Do the advocates of "Woman's Rights" realize the work which is being silently, but none the less surely done, by the Independent Order of Good Templars? Our Order lays no claim to the title of a "Woman's Rights" society. We never heard the question brought up in the Lodge room, except as an incidental question. With the exception of one or two very recent cases we do not know that Good Templars, as such, have ever endorsed Female Suffrage; but our Order has from the very first recognized woman as the mental equal of man. There is no privilege of sex in the Lodge room. Woman is eligible to any and every office in the Order. If she be deficient in executive ability here it will be plainly shown.

Capital, as far as it goes. And besides, every such step paves the way to woman's-like equality everywhere.

"OUGHT WOMEN TO VOTE?"

READ BEFORE THE BLOOMINGDALE LYCEUM.

IT appears to me that the question proposed for discussion ought to be dealt with fairly, and logically, with a determination to put prejudice aside, and to accept whatsoever conclusions a fair and open line of argument may lead to. The question of Equal Rights has long been before the public, and it has, as a general thing, been dealt with in a spirit of scoffing equally unfair and unmanly. I wonder that a nation of men, who habitually plume themselves upon their chivalrous courtesy to women, can so far forget themselves and their traditions of chivalry when dealing with a question of Women's Rights.

It is not enough, however, to scoff at the agitators of this question, as "weak-minded men, and strong-minded women." I humbly apprehend that no man among them all would willingly accept the alternative of being *mentally weak*, as descriptive of his feminine dependents! It is not enough to ridicule them as "be-spectacled, angular, short-haired, billious-hued Bloomer-ites." Such a course may be vituperative, but it is *not* argumentative.

Many writers are prone to evade the true issue, taking refuge in a sense of masculine superiority, from which they graciously throw out high-toned, moral suggestions that "the fair seekers after suffrage had better be at home mending their husband's stockings."

Now that is a glorious mission, doubtless, and ought to content any reasonable woman; but to our great grief, and disquiet, we find evidences in them of a cropping out of ambitious desires for a vocation not altogether confined to the truly feminine occupation of button-hole making, and the repairing of overworn hose. They claim to have "souls above buttons"—or button-holes. They profess to think they have *Rights*, and other Rights than the lords of creation have conceded to them. To our inexpressible horror, they claim the Right to Vote. They don't ask it as a favor—if they did, we should, in all probability, grant their desire; we rather like to dispense favors in a gracious, lordly fashion. But JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS, is their cry; they claim suffrage as a right. Therefore, as a right, we are bound to discuss the question, and come to a decision. Allow me, for a moment, to draw your attention, ladies and gentlemen, to a few of the illogical replies that have been made to this claim founded on Right.

It has been said that "to enter the arena of politics, would render woman coarse, masculine; to go to the polls would demoralize her, and bring her into contact with unclean things;" and a very Daniel of a democrat has objected that she would be *wanting office next!!!*

Ah! that wail came from the very spirit! Therein lies the very "head and front of her offending!" They fear the fair fingers will next seek to thrust themselves into the great Public Pie, the spoils of which already fail to suffice the greed of their opponents.

The question, however, is one of abstract Right. It is nothing to the impartial Judge, if the innocent man, released by his sentence, shall, in the future, commit the very offence of which he is now proven not guilty. So, also, it is nothing to the purpose if the Women of the Future become "unsexed" through receiving their Rights. That lies beyond our jurisdiction; but a grave responsibility devolves upon us who either knowingly,

or ignorantly, deprive any race or class of the rights to which their humanity entitles them. By so doing, we clog the wheels of progress, and keep back the world in its circling flight towards the millennium.

The women of to-day are striving, in bloodless fight, against that very oppression, to overthrow which, our forefathers freely shed the best blood of the land—Taxation, without Representation. And in these women flows the same loyal blood, dwells the same patriotic spirit that animated their chivalric ancestry—with only this difference—"a man without a country is an anomaly in the world—and so is a woman with one! She may, and does, give to her native land, father, husband, son, to die nobly in its defence—but to the end of her days, this patriotic woman shall go orphaned, widowed, childless—the citizen of no country—a cypher in the land she gave her all to protect and save.

I disclaim, for the present, any special advocacy of Female Suffrage—I simply demand *fair play*. If woman must be taxed, gentlemen, grant her, then, the established right of representation, not simply through her husband's vote, for that would be in a manner compelling our widows to select our successors—and, moreover, all women are not so fortunate as to possess a *voting-half*. Indeed, as statistics go to show that the number of marriageable women greatly exceeds the number of marriageable men, such a course would be highly unfair towards the majority of women. Therefore, as a matter of strict justice, if your deliberate conviction shall be, not to acknowledge such rights as are claimed by intelligent and far-sighted women all over the world—do not compel them to pay taxes toward the support of a government in which they have no representation.

Some of the popular objections have already been noticed, but they are poor and flimsy, and cannot claim for a moment the dignity of argument against Woman Suffrage. (I make a single exception. The man with the hole in his stocking! I feel a profound sympathy for him!) Take, for instance, that weakly, sentimental objection to her coming in contact with the polluting influences of the ballot-box. I suppose much the same sort of crowd is closely packed into the street cars, on which probably two-thirds of the women of this city are compelled to go back and forth; the same polluted breaths stifle her, and similar unkempt and unwashed individuals elbow her, or plunge into the vacant seat by her side, if she is lucky enough to get a seat.

Now that objection is a pitiful subterfuge; no man of ordinary common sense, here present, can fail to see the simple and obvious remedy—that polls set apart for the female voters, with the ordinary guard, would be sufficient to protect them from that unholy contact with the mob. They would deposit their votes quietly, it is to be presumed, and then go home to the neglected domestic hosiery; and the supposition is justifiable on the ground that women are opposed on principle to "corner groceries;" and would not, therefore, adjourn half-hourly to drink the health of their candidates.

Having spoken a few words in behalf of the gentler sex whom we all love, since we all have mothers, and if we haven't hope to have wives—let me, in closing, say one word in behalf of mankind, the noblest of whom have, in all ages, shown themselves to be woman's brave defenders and generous friends,

Perhaps the rash valor with which a knight formerly challenged all comers to mortal combat, who should deny the sovereign beauty and virtue of his ladye, is lacking in the sluggish blood of this generation, but that high sense of honor is no more dead than in the days of chivalry, though it may seek expression rather at the point of the pen than of the lance—and the noble women of the land, the daughters, wives, and mothers of Patriots know as well as you or I that an appeal to it in the name of Justice and of Right shall not always be in vain.

SOCIAL SCIENCE IN CHICAGO.

THE Social Science Convention in Chicago has elicited a good deal of attention. The papers read were valuable, chiefly for statistical and other information, showing the alarming moral condition of the country.

The paper by the Rev. Dr. J. M. Gregory upon woman's sphere, or place and work in society, was written in a most excellent spirit, and was, perhaps, the most liberal, comprehensive, philosophical paper read at the Convention.

Mr. Gregory considered woman in a three-fold character: first, as mother; second, as house-keeper; and third, as *woman*.

The importance of woman's work as a mother was well and strongly defined, but no measures were suggested to improve its character, and make her children what they should be. The great importance of her work as housekeeper was also put forth in very strong light, and I would here suggest that, if woman's work as mother and housekeeper is so important, it deserves and should receive a better compensation than the present lawful method of keeping her a beggar at man's mercy.

It also occurred to me that the epithet of woman, as the great house-keeper of the world, was about as dignified as it would be to call our merchants *store-keepers*; and I would also suggest, that if *house-keepers* should become *house-owners*, the houses would stand a better chance to be well kept. People generally take better care of what belongs to themselves than of what belongs to somebody else.

As store-keepers delight in the grand title of merchant princes, why not call house-keepers household princesses, or Queens of the home? Good reason why; because our houses and their keepers are owned by lords and masters. House-keeper is a very appropriate title for the wife and mother in her present dependent condition.

Under head of the third department of woman's place and work, Mr. Gregory says:

"We come finally to the third, and perhaps the most potential form of woman's influence in society, the power she exerts by virtue of her womanhood. To restate the history of this power, would be to rewrite the religious, social, and political history of the world. It would reveal the secrets of courts and cabinets, of conspiracies, revolutions and wars, the rise and fall of states and kingdoms, and the life of democracies, republics and despotisms. In private life it would reveal the secret springs of myriad lives, their heroisms and their crimes; their greatness and their meanness, their success and their bitter and wretched failures."

Mr. Gregory did not suggest any measures by which this influence could be made better, or what it should be to prevent crime, discord and disaster in society. I would suggest that the position of so much power should be made re-

sponsible and honorable, not as now working in the dark behind and through men to the utter demoralization and destruction of society.

The position and work of woman, as woman, in the great social fabric, is now the great question to define, the great problem to solve, and which must claim a great share of our attention until it is finally settled upon principles of justice. When this is done, woman's position and work as mother, wife, and house-keeper will find an easy solution and be brought into right action.

Prof. T. W. Woolsey read a paper upon divorce and divorce laws. Another was read upon compulsory education by H. A. Ford. Mr. Charles F. Coffin delivered an address on the licentiousness of our age and country. Rev. Fred A. Wines read a paper upon "Female Reformatory."

Mr. Wines said very clearly and emphatically, that it was one of the greatest blessings to society that women were compelled to marry as it prevented prostitution, etc.

Miss Conover of Chicago said she did not believe in keeping women in a dependent condition to force them into marriage, as that was only a mild form of prostitution.

Mr. Wines denied that he advocated what the lady deprecated, nevertheless it was impossible not to perceive that Mr. Wines's address justified her conclusions. Surely it is woman's dependent condition that compels her to marry. Mr. Wines did not say or imply that men are compelled to marry. In a right condition of society women would marry, not by the law of force or compulsion, but by the law of attraction or love.

It is very evident that we cannot look to the men of the Social Science Association for the solution of the social problems of the day. Every remedy proposed by them for our existing evils was a measure of force. Such a course as this, when carried to its legitimate ultimate, would lead society back to its condition before the days of Luther. The law of force applied to society will lead us back to monarchy and despotism, and will require a standing army. Do the gentlemen propose this? If they do not see any better way to remedy our social evils, I can assure them that there is a better way. We want justice, not force. Justice alone can harmonize society, and this law of justice is the great law of Christianity. Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you.

In advocating the law of force, we abandon the true spirit of Christianity, and fall back to Judaism, to the law of Moses.

Doubtless the law of force is a law of social science, as it is a law of every other science, but it is not the law of freedom, equity and harmony.

Mrs. E. O. G. WILLARD.

TAXING OF WOMEN.—At the recent Woman's Suffrage Convention in Boston, Hon. Samuel E. Sewell said that in Boston, women are now assessed \$27,778,000 on real estate, and \$13,121,000 on personal estate. Mr. Sewell thought there would not be a perfect community until the sexes are perfectly equal in the eyes of the law.

EDMONIA LEWIS, the young American colored sculptress at Rome, has received an order from Prince George of Prussia, for a statue of Clio, daughter of Jupiter and first of the Muses.

Do not overlook the letter of Mr. Grover on Judge Chase.

OUR CAUSE IN SWITZERLAND.

THE Second Congress of Peace and Liberty held in Berne, Sept. 22d to 26th, 1868, passed the following resolution :

Congress recognizes, as a principle, all human rights, economical, civil, social and political, as belonging to woman, and commences at once to study the best means to hasten the day when woman may have the full exercise of these rights.

The question of the Rights of Woman was presented with equal tact and eloquence by Madame Goegg—the persuasive and convincing advocate of the cause which she was called to defend.

The following communication on "The Mission of Woman" was received, for translation of which, for "THE REVOLUTION," we are indebted to Mrs. Elizabeth Smith Miller :

Help thyself and Heaven will help thee. If this proverb were ever true, it is certainly so in this question of the emancipation of woman. Never would man, who feels his own interests threatened, extend to her a helping hand, unless forced to do so.

Now, it is not very easy to "help one's self," when one is surrounded with all sorts of prejudices and obstacles. Without being easy, it is quite possible, if those who strive are animated by an energetic will and activity. It is not by a single blow that this revolution will be accomplished. Who wishes to reach the end, must walk prudently and feel assured of every step. It is important that the commencement be well guarded. It will consist in struggle against the weaknesses which are the result of our education. Luxury, indolence, and sentimentalism must be struck out of the programme. The absence of indigence is the first wealth—the first essential step toward independence. Simplicity of manners engenders, also, morality and temperance. The true ornament of woman is neatness. The toilet must require as little time as possible and as little preoccupation of mind. On the contrary, woman should seek to instruct herself in all things which tend to physical strength, fearlessness and bravery—such as swimming, gymnastics and handling arms. Let us not fear the contempt and mockery of the world; let him laugh who wins. Let us despise no labor, however low it may appear; let every one seek to occupy herself in those things for which she feels the most strength and attraction. Labor is dishonorable in none of its forms. The sense of having accomplished a useful thing, of having lived a true life, is ample recompense for the pain one has endured and for the contempt of vitiated men.

It will be difficult to persuade married women, already advanced in life, to change their way of living; habit is to them as second nature; but if they do not feel capable of working a renovation in themselves, they should certainly not remain inactive to that which concerns others. They should educate their daughters otherwise than they have been educated: they should plant in them, from infancy, the germ of independence, and bring them up, not as dolls, but as reasonable, active beings. They must imbue themselves with the idea that it is an unpardonable crime to allow a young girl to leave the paternal roof without defence and without intellectual resources and to launch her thus on life. It is in her education, positively, that she must find means of reaching a better existence, in an education rendering her capable of striving for her well-being, and leading her to find in her own strength the most efficacious aid—the most useful succor.

And if tradition and prejudice really deprive woman of the resources which man possesses to perfect himself, nevertheless what can prevent her working to secure to herself the same resources? Who would expel them from the court-room, the library, the studio, if they oppose serious resistance, a determined force of will? All the obstacles heaped around woman exist simply because she tolerates them. These obstacles are rather in the weakness and false timidity with which woman has been inoculated, than in the *soi-disant* strength and superiority of man. Man knows this too well; it is on this account that he praises the virtue of humility in woman. It is, then, necessary to surmount this timidity so much praised and so encouraged—and to this without the least violation of the truly delicate sentiments of the human soul.

Some among us will be called to walk as pioneers to clear the way of progress. Thorns will not fall us on this route, but we must bear all, persecution and contempt, for the promoters of a new idea have nothing

else to expect. In the accomplishment of the task, we must seek the recompense of effort.

If we could succeed in making woman *think*, the rest would take care of itself. A phalanx of determined women would easily succeed in gaining the right of Suffrage, because, in reality, the existence of the state is already in the hands of woman. A "strike" among the women would certainly be the most legitimate of all "strikes" that have been or that can be.

Men know this too well, and it is therefore that they wish to enchain a force which seems to menace their privileges. The task of woman, on her side, is to arouse, to bring out this force which is now latent, and this, not for the happiness of her sex only, but for man also, and for the good of all mankind.

A SWISS CITIZEN.

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM REV. MR. BLANCHARD.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Nov. 18, 1868.

MY DEAR MISS ANTHONY: I read "THE REVOLUTION" with great pleasure. Let me say to you, that I heartily wish you "God speed" in your enterprise, and that I enclose two dollars for a year's subscription from date. I may not agree with all your methods; but I have learned to accept things as a whole, without wasting time in dwelling on flaws. All hail, therefore, to "THE REVOLUTION!"

I am to go to Indianapolis the last of December. Before doing so, I will do my best with a sermon to my people on Woman and Work. I shall commend the paper and its editors and proprietor—the Working Woman's Association—to their regard.

I want our women to honor work—to be proud in self-maintaining. I want all places opened to them, and the ballot in their hands. They will use it for righteousness and freedom.

Cordially yours,

HENRY BLANCHARD.

A NEW PAPER.—The Pittsburg (Pa.) *Weekly Mirror*; introducing again Mrs. Jane G. Swiss-helm as associate editor, with Thomas W. Wright and Thomas Telford, editors and proprietors. Two dollars fifty cents per annum, in advance. In their salutatory, they say:

In starting the *Weekly Mirror* we seek to fill two vacancies. First. That which has always existed in Pittsburg, except at intervals, the place of a first-class literary and family weekly, not issued on Sabbath. Second. That created by the failure of the *Working-men's Advocate*. We expect to make it first-class in this, that we shall admit no article not of a degree of literary merit equal to those of our best Eastern magazines, and that our leading object will be to impart information and hold up the highest standards of moral excellence and Christian culture and refinement. We shall admit into our columns nothing "that defileth or maketh a lie;" and, instead of records of vice, shall endeavor to interest our readers in the many good deeds which tend to reclaim the world from the power of evil and to make our earth an Eden.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE CANDIDATES—THE CANVASS IN ENGLAND.—The cable since our last article has given so little news, if any, regarding the Woman Suffrage candidates in the late contest, that we will postpone the announcement of the result until the arrival of our foreign files with full returns.

MRS. RUFUS F. BUEL.—One of the best schools in Washington is managed by Mrs. Buel, wife of the Rev. Rufus F. Buel, formerly missionary to Greece. The children of Gens. Grant, Howard, and other distinguished men, are under her care and instruction. Young ladies from different parts of the country are frequently with her during the winter for the purpose of seeing Washington society.

LIBERAL DONATION.—The Woman's Home has just received, from Hon. E. B. Ward, of Detroit, the very handsome sum of \$300, to aid in completing the structure now building by the Directors with the funds which have been subscribed for this enterprise.

LITERARY.

MESSES. PETERSON & BROS., 306 Chesnut street, Philadelphia, have just sent us two new and handsome books, as follows :

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, being Letters from France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy and England. By Charles H. Haeseler, M.D., of Pottsville, Pa. A large Duodecimo Volume. Handsomely bound in Cloth. Price Two Dollars.

THE MORRISONS. A Story of Domestic Life. By Mrs. Margaret Hosmer, Author of "Ten Years of a Lifetime," "The White Girl of the Ridge," etc. Price \$1.75 in cloth ; or, \$1.50 in paper cover.

We have looked through the first of these books, and having passed over much of the ground a few years since, recently travelled by Dr. Haeseler, Italy excepted, can testify both to the accuracy and the brilliancy of his descriptions and sketches. Many complain, and not without reason, both of the number and the emptiness of books of travel. But the letters comprising this handsome volume will escape all charge of dulness, and will find a ready sale wherever properly introduced.

On "The Morrisons" we have hardly had time to call, and so cannot speak with so much confidence. The book is well produced every way, contains more than 380 pages, and is dedicated to Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, which is itself a recommendation.

MEMORANDA OF PERSONS, PLACES AND EVENTS : embracing authentic facts, visions, impressions ; discoveries in magnetism, clairvoyance and spiritualism, with quotations from the opposition. By Andrew Jackson Davis. With an appendix containing Zscaokke's Story of Hortensis, portraying the difference between the ordinary state and clairvoyance ; a very handsome and truly interesting Spiritualist book of 486 pages. Boston : Wm. White & Co., 158 Washington street. New York : 544 Broadway.

LIFE OF MARK M. POMEROY, proprietor and editor of the La Crosse (Wis.) *Democrat*, and of the New York *Daily Democrat*. A representative young man of America. By Mrs. Mary E. Tucker. With a steel portrait.

Brick, as Mr. Pomeroy sometimes signs himself, for some reason or other, is not surely a rose that all are praising, though he is just now in almost everybody's mouth who reads the newspapers. Mrs. Tucker has not probably added much to his fame or reputation, but she has set the newspaper world all a buzz about him, like a hornet's nest. Large republican journals give long columns of notice of the book, and of its hero, as though he were after all far other than the burnt clay divinity they so profess to despise. Evidently he is not totally depraved nor wholly despised. For apart from his political vagaries (supposing his opinions to be such), he seems to have elements of character which a great many republicans in high life and low would do well to cultivate. Two hundred thorough temperance men and boys, abstaining from tobacco as well as intoxicating drinks, and most of them from profane swearing, also, are not the company that would gather around a moral monster in human form, and remain in his employ year after year. But such a testimony as this is borne of him in various places, if not in the book. A short time since, he declared himself a Woman's Rights champion, up to the fullest demands of "THE REVOLUTION," though it is not pleasant to say that in his absence, or while detained from his editorial chair by illness, as we are sorry to learn he has been, his paper has been saying some of the stupidest things ever heard of against Woman's Suffrage, and even other rights to her belonging. These will undoubtedly be retrieved when he comes himself again to the helm.

Some men are hypocrites by being worse than they seem, others by being better. It is to be hoped, indeed, can easily be believed, that the worst of Mr. Pomeroy, like an oyster or a porcupine, is on the outside. His biography shows this most conclusively, and we earnestly hope the future of him may magnify all his virtuous qualities as therein set forth. The book is very handsomely got up, as are books generally by Carlton & Co., Broadway, New York.

THE MILITARY AND CIVIL HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT during the war of 1861 to 1865. Comprising an account of the various regiments and batteries, through march, encampment, bivouac and battle. Also instances of distinguished personal gallantry, and biographical sketches of many heroic soldiers, together with a record of the patriotic action of citizens at home, and of the liberal support furnished by the state in its executive and legislative departments. By W. A. Croffut and John Morris.

Extensively and handsomely illustrated. New York : Ledyard Bill. An elegant volume of almost 900 pages. The authors evidently intended a first-class book of its kind, and have mainly achieved a complete success. The publisher, too, has done his part admirably well, and the state will do both parties and itself, too, great injustice, if it do not give it a wide circulation. We may recur to it again, more, however, for the sake of Connecticut and its state government, than for criticism of the book itself.

THE HERALD OF HEALTH closes up the year very handsomely in its December number. A dozen or fifteen popular pens grace its pages, and almost every article has some kind of merit. Mrs. Horace Mann, on Woman's Suffrage, is a brief, but clear and unanswerable argument for it, that we shall make room for if possible. New York : Miller, Wood & Co. Two dollars per annum.

THE SCIENCE OF MONEY AND CO-OPERATION ; together furnishing the solution of the Labor Question. By W. M. Boucher, Chicago. A well-produced pamphlet of 128 pages. It will receive further notice hereafter in our Finance department.

THE FUTURE OF VINELAND. A Lecture, by Joseph Treat. Some copies are left for sale at "THE REVOLUTION" office. The lecture is Vineland as it is, as well as as it is to be. It is a plea for Woman's Equality also, in the world of work, literature, government, religion, everywhere. Price 15 cents. Eight copies for one dollar.

MARY McELROY and her sister, two domestic servants in Lee, Mass., it is said, have just received intelligence that a wealthy old relative has died and left them \$70,000 each. Who now will serve them ?

Mrs. Secretary McCulloch's Report.

NO DECLINE IN HOUSEHOLD TREASURES.

Ten years ago I purchased a Wheeler & Wilson Sewing Machine, and have had it in constant use in my family since. We used it during the war to make clothing for our volunteers in the service and for the hospitals, and this work was very heavy, being coarse woolen and cotton fabrics. It is still in good working order, nothing having been broken but a few needles.

You are welcome to use my name in your recommendations.

MRS. HUGH McCULLOCH,
Wife of Secretary U. S. Treasury,
Washington.

To Messrs. Wheeler & Wilson.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Fall trade of 1868, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.—NO. 22.

THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

BY L. A. HINE.

NO. II.

SPACE being limited I must drive directly home to the subject.

To the objection that the new greenback is to be forever inconvertible, it is replied that it will be convertible into bonds, while the new theory makes these bonds forever inconvertible except back into greenbacks! This sort of circle logic has never been very highly esteemed. If neither the greenback nor the bond is ever to be paid, neither of them will ever be of any value, nor represent any value. Even the small interest of two per cent. to be allowed on the bonds and to be paid in greenbacks, which are forever to be irredeemable and unpayable, will fail to give the bonds any value.

The new theory proposes to pay all dues, public and private, in such greenbacks or bonds. No more revenue is to be raised, because the greenbacks or the bonds are to pay all. Hence the heavenly felicity of no more taxation! Gold is to be driven out and forever kept out of our monetary system as an impudent intruder upon the natural rights of stamped paper money! All the national debt, not made expressly payable in coin, is to be paid either in these greenbacks or these new bonds which are themselves never to be paid except by being converted into greenbacks that are also never to be paid except by being converted back again into bonds! What a charmed circle this is! We now need \$1,500,000,000 of currency while we have only \$650,000,000, which is two hundred millions more than could be maintained on a gold basis, and money is to be so abundant as to reduce interest down to 1½ or 2 per cent. This writer does not think it will be worth even that much unless the government shall agree to redeem it; and even with such an agreement, one dollar out of fifteen hundred millions could not purchase more than thirty-five cents worth of either gold or wheat. But this theory is to bring us all into that paradise of celestial joy when our war debt will be next to valueless, our currency next to valueless, all private debts ditto, and honesty so much depreciated that no one will be driven to suicide by remorse! What an wholesale confiscation deliberately perpetrated in time of peace and without revolution!

It is held that gold has no value as money except what is given to it by the government stamp ; that it is arbitrary power alone which makes it a measure of values. This is false in fact and false historically. Gold was a measure of values before government discovered the convenience of making the right to coin money a prerogative of the crown. It is nothing but a convenience. It secures a uniform coinage in place of a great number of coinages of differing purity, and therefore embarrassing in business. The government stamp neither adds value to a piece of gold nor imparts to it any new function as a measure of values. Were there no coinage at all it would still, by universal consent, be the measure of values the world over, because it is not only the least fluctuating of all things, but is susceptible of that minute and convenient subdivision to represent the smallest values that it is ever desirable to measure.

It is claimed that a piece of paper stamped by the government with a universal value, made legal tender and receivable for all dues, would constitute a true measure of values. Can the government create something out of nothing? It can cancel all debts by refusing aid in their collection, provided the debtors are dishonest enough to refuse payment; and the making of a worthless thing legal tender is only to assist scoundrels in repudiating their obligations! This opens to our view a charming moral prospect!

We are told that the government can create out of nothing a measure of values as well as a measure of quantities—that a piece of paper stamped "one dollar" would be just as certain a measure of one dollar's worth of wheat or what not, as a stick three feet long is a certain measure of a yard in quantity, or an half bushel box is a measure of so much in quantity of corn. The error of this is clear, because every one can see that in both the yard-stick and a piece of cloth three feet long we have precisely the same thing in quantity. They are equal in all respects as to quantity, to wit: a yard. But it is not so with a gold dollar and a piece of irredeemable and unpayable paper stamped "one dollar"; because the one is a dollar of value and measures a dollar in value of wheat or cloth; while the other has no value and can measure no value even by arbitrary power. What the yard-stick is to quantity the gold dollar is to value, and accordingly the illustration is against the new theory. In the case of the stamped paper dollar the measure and the thing measured are not equal, as is the case with the yard-stick and three feet of cloth.

Governments have often tried to make half a dollar's worth of gold equal to a dollar, but they never succeeded except in swindling for their treasures and in enabling rascals to swindle their creditors. When James II. coined pot-metal, door knobs, also cannon, etc., and made a currency of one sixty-fourth part its nominal value, the merchants at once marked up the prices of their goods to the same level, and the government was compelled to threaten confiscation and death in order to force them to take his coin for its nominal value. Governments cannot make much progress in biting the chains of nature and trampling down natural law. It is quite a novel idea that government can make something out of nothing. It is even still a question whether Omnipotence itself ever created anything out of nothing. An old philosophical maxim is that "from nothing nothing comes," and this writer seriously doubts whether the "new greenback" will reverse that maxim by showing how something can come of nothing.

The new money evangelists will not succeed in dethroning the natural born and natural crowned king of the monetary system. He can no more be driven from his eternal throne than the sun can be cast out of the centre of the solar system. A war upon nature is not the way to establish natural justice. The only effectual method is to break down the barriers which usurping governments have set up against natural law. Man cries out to be let alone in the enjoyment of his natural rights. All that is asked of governments is to guaranty those rights to all and leave the people free to work with God and nature in achieving their freedom and happiness. Under a just system, interest on money will come down to two or three per cent. High interest is solely the result of combatting nature, and our friends will only aggravate the difficulty by increasing the warfare.

L. A. HINE VS. THE NATIONAL LABOR PARTY PLATFORM.

In answer to article No. 2, by L. A. Hine, Esq., I would say that one of two propositions is true: either that money is a material substance and the power of money inheres in every valuable commodity, independently of any act of government, or it must be a principle which, like that of mathematics, the lever and all other philosophical principles is co-existent with Deity. The theory that gold was created by God for money is too preposterous to be entertained by any sane person for a moment. If it was created for that purpose, why was it not furnished in quantities to suit the wants of the people? No living man, no man that has lived for many generations past, has seen the time when the business of the world has been done with coin? It is far more reasonable to conclude that despots, tyrants, Shylocks and Christian bankers have crowned and proclaimed gold king, for the reason that it is a sure, safe and easy way to rob the toiling millions of the fruits of their honest industry.

Even friend Hine will admit that no one but a miser gets money for the sole purpose of looking at and hoarding it. The use of money is to exchange the products of one or more persons for that of others. I take a dollar for my day's work in the shop, on the farm or in the pulpit, because it measures the value of my day's work; and it will pay my debts, purchase my tea, bread, clothing, or can be loaned for an income; nor do I stop to inquire of what material it is made; all that it is necessary for me to know is, that it is the lawful money of the government.

Money may properly be said to be an evidence of indebtedness. A labors a week for D, and receives ten dollars in money which is evidence that A has created, or in some way increased so much the amount of actual value for the community and of course he is entitled to receive in return from C or from any one else, who has it for sale, an equal amount of actual value in exchange for his ten dollars. The ten dollars are now evidence of indebtedness in the hands of C just as they were before in the hands of A or D.

Again, the value of money is representative, and only representative, whether its material be gold or paper; for the moment gold is coined it sinks out of sight its intrinsic value and takes its representative character or legal value. When gold coin is converted into a spoon or a watch-case, it ceases to have power to discharge debts and becomes a commodity; it ceases to be money.

Again, it would seem to any thinking mind as reasonable to assert that a note of hand to make it valuable, should be written on gilt paper, in letters of gold, with a gold pen, as to say that the mere representative should be of the same intrinsic value as the thing represented. This we do know, that the yard of cloth measured with a basswood or a walnut yard-stick, is just as durable and just as long as the yard of cloth measured with a gold yard-stick; and a bushel of wheat or the pound of meat purchased with a paper dollar has the same nourishment as the one purchased with a gold dollar.

Again, we deem it as preposterous to demand that the material of the measure of value shall be equal in value to the commodity or thing measured, as it would be to require the representative in Congress to possess all the ability

in every respect of each and all of his constituency. When man makes steelyards or scales, or when he solves a problem in mathematics, he does not make principles, neither when he coins money does he make the principle, but only expresses it on some material, and fits it for use. In conclusion, it is far easier for friend Hine to apply the epithet scoundrel, rascal and swindler to those who differ with him in opinion, than to manfully refute their arguments. More anon.

W. H. C.

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THE MONEY MARKET

was easy throughout the week at 5 to 6 per cent. for call loans, and discounts, for first-class names, range from 7 to 8 per cent. The weekly bank statement shows expansion, the loans being increased \$3,294,994, while the legal tenders are decreased \$1,159,738, and the specie \$1,546,776. The circulation is increased \$89,495 and the deposits \$3,308,495.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	Nov. 21.	Nov. 28.	Differences
Loans,	\$251,091,063	\$254,386,057	Inc. \$3,294,994
Specie,	17,333,153	15,786,277	Dec. 1,546,876
Circulation,	34,195,068	34,284,563	Inc. 89,495
Deposits,	184,110,340	187,418,835	Inc. 3,308,495
Legal-tenders,	63,599,944	62,440,206	Dec. 1,159,738

THE GOLD MARKET
was steady throughout the week, and firm and advanced at the close.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, Nov. 23, 184½	134½	134	134½
Tuesday, 24,	134½	134½	134½
Wednesday, 25,	134½	135½	134½
Thursday, 26, Thanksgiving	135%	135%	135%
Friday, 27,	135%	135%	135
Saturday, 28,	134%	135%	134½
			135½

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was quiet and steady at the close, and prime bankers 60 days sterling bills were quoted 109½ to 109½, and sight 110 to 110½. Francs on Paris bankers long 5.17½ to 5.18½, and short 5.15 to 5.13½. Cotton sterling bills were offered at 108½ to 108½, and Francs 52½.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was active and buoyant with an advance in prices owing to the ease in the money market, and the general impression that no further effort will be made to create an artificial stringency.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland 40 to 40½; W., F. & Co., 27 to 27½; American, 47 to 47½; Adams, 50½ to 50½; U. States, 47 to 47½; Merchants Union, 19½ to 19½; Quicksilver, 23½ to 24; Canton, 51 to 51½; Pacific Mail, 118½ to 118½; W. U. Tel., 36½ to 37; N. Y. Central, 129 to 129½; Erie, 39½ to 39%; do. preferred, 60 to 61; Hudson River, 130½ to 130%; Reading, 99½ to 99½; Wabash, 59 to 59½; Mil. & St. P. 71½ to 72; do. preferred, 89½ to 90; Fort Wayne, 112½ to 112½; Ohio & Miss., 31½ to 31½; Mich. Central, 118 to 120½; Mich. South, 89½ to 89½; Ill. Central, 142 to 144; Pittsburgh, 88½ to 89; Toledo, 101 to 101½; Rock Island, 108½ to 109; North West, 88½ to 85½; do. preferred, 84½ to 88½; B. W. Power, 15 to 15½; B. H. & Erie, 27 to 28; Atlantic Mail, 10 to 25; Mariposa, 6 to 6½ do. preferred, 22 to 22½.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were active throughout the greater part of the week, the 1862's advancing at one time as high as 113½. At the close, however, the market became irregular and fluctuating, the 1862's falling to 111½ and the 1867's to 110½.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, registered, 1881, 114½ to 115; United States sixes, coupon, 1881, 115 to 115½; United States five-twentieths, registered, 1862, 106½ to 107; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1862, 111½ to 112½; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1864, 107½ to 107½; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1865, 108 to 108½; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1865, January and July, 110½ to 110%; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1867, 110½ to 110%; United States five-twentieths, coupon, 1868, 110½ to 111; United States ten-twenties, registered 103½ to 104; United States ten-twenties, coupon, 105 to 106.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$1,789,000 in gold against \$1,841,000 \$1,713,000 and \$1,977,000 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$5,320,493 in gold against \$3,657,355, \$3,594,524, and \$3,363,311 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were \$3,261,984 in currency against \$3,775,896, \$2,943,195, and \$3,121,997 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$642,105 against \$22,100, \$252,080 and \$264,829 for the preceding weeks.

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